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THE REAL LINCOLN,

BY

CHARLES L. C. MINOR,

WITH ARTICLE

BY

LYON G. TYLER.

EDITED BY

KATE MASON ROWLAND,

Author of "Life of George Mason," "Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton," etc

RICHMOND, VA.:
EVERETT WADDEY COMPANY.
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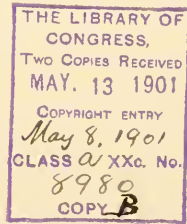
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BY CHARLES L. C. MINOR.

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PREFACE.

BY THE EDITOR.

“Whosoever in writing a modern history, shall follow truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no mistress or guide that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far, loseth her sight, and loseth himself; and he that walks after her at a middle distance, I know not whether I should call that kind of course temper or baseness.”

“No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behavior: the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own natures.”—*Sir Walter Raleigh.*

The Genius of History will surely vindicate her right to truth, though a whole people conspire against her. So the man behind the mask, whether it be placed there by himself or others, must at length come forth in his own true character. “We have seen,” as has been well said, “the ‘Lincoln legend’ in actual process of evolution, and cannot again be surprised at the historical myths that have come down to us from more uncritical ages.” But legend and myth must give way before conscientious investigation, an investigation which brings out suppressed facts and points an unerring finger at fallacies and fabrications.

While the private character of Lincoln has been made by his eulogists to appear the thing it was not, his public career has been described by them as meriting unqualified approbation. It is of the latter alone I would speak here. What was he then?—the “liberator” who set free slaves that did not belong to him in order to injure a people over whom he had no sort of

jurisdiction; the "saviour of the Union" who called armies into action to force a confederacy of States back into a federation they had abjured? He was in truth the Constitution-breaker, the violator of solemn political obligations, and the prime agent in a gigantic act of robbery and confiscation. To justify themselves, the Northern people glorify Lincoln, set a nimbus about his head, crown him with bays as their protagonist in the drama by which the great crime of the century was consummated—the suppression of Southern independence. With unconscious irony, Lincoln is compared by these illogical idolaters with Washington. To liken the oppressor of whole communities to the arch "rebel" who achieved the independence of these communities is surely the veriest climax of inconsequentness. Washington led thirteen colonies to independence; Lincoln deprived thirteen States of the rights secured to them by the arms of Washington. The one fought for the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; the other upheld the doctrine that governments should rest on force and not on consent. Lincoln's true peer and prototype is found in George III. In the eighteenth century it was Washington who represented the rights of communities in a so-called "indissoluble" empire; in the nineteenth century it was Lincoln who opposed this principle and maintained the supremacy of a so-called "indissoluble" federal republic. Jefferson Davis exemplified the creed of Thomas Jefferson in opposition to the George III. and Lincoln dogma—the creed that a community (and if a colony, much more certainly a State), has a reserved sovereign power in its "people," giving them a right to ordain and alter their own form of government, whether these communities are in an empire under a king or in a "union" of States under a president.

"When, in 1861," says a distinguished Virginia writer, "moved by her sovereign pleasure, but acting in accordance with her old principles and traditions, she [Virginia] threw off a grievous Federal yoke, she found an American President, whose power was but the rank and unhealthy growth of those principles, as prompt to stifle them with force as King George had been, who denied the school of politics out of which they

sprang, nor in petition, nor remonstrance, had ever heard of these extravagant pretensions of his American subjects. Mr. Lincoln, by his armed powers, produced far greater results than the loss of independence by the Southern States, for he destroyed the head-spring from which had been derived the right, which the majority claimed to govern the State. It is evident the only authority for that theorem of politics was the assertions of those charters of popular rights which the late General Grant overthrew with his myrmidons. If at this day, the majority governs anywhere, within the extended limits of political society, it is by the reverence which men pay to positive law. The moral ground has been broken up and swept away. The party of 'moral ideas,' as the Republican party arrogantly and insolently call themselves, has remitted society, in every land, to the government of force, and we stand now in this advanced era where Cæsar and Genseric stood. From that time [the date of the war upon the Confederate States] the Republic of the United States, regarded as a model for imitation, ceased, by its own act, to be a government of *consent*, as in two famous charters and in the Constitution which created it, it had been with exultation proclaimed to be, and under the control of Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party, became a government of *force*, according to the American classification, as much as the sternest military monarchy in king-governed Asia."*

Facilis decensus Arcerni. Secretary Root justifies the latest American war of subjugation by the precedent of 1861. "Nothing can be more mischievous," he tells us, "than a principle misapplied. The doctrine that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed was applicable to the conditions for which Jefferson wrote it and to the people to whom he applied it. * * * Lincoln did not apply it to the South, and the great struggle of the Civil War was a solemn assertion by the American people that there are other principles of law and liberty [?] which limit the application of the doctrine of consent. Government does not depend upon

* "The Republic as a Form of Government; or, The Evolution of Democracy in America," pp. 11, 12, 7, 8, by John Scott (of Fauquier), London, Chapman and Hall, 1890.

consent." * The Northern Democrat to-day differs only from the Republican in being more shamelessly inconsistent. It will be seen that this party opposed in 1861 the coercion of the Southern Confederacy, and was dragged into the war by Lincoln. But who among them now raises his voice to confess the wrong of which the United States were then guilty? In the late presidential campaign, William Jennings Bryan, who, if elected, would have owed his elevation to the vote of the "Solid South," equally with Mr. Root, declared the "doctrine of consent" totally inapplicable to the sovereign States of the late Confederacy. "Republicans tell us," he says, "that the Philippine war is the same as was the War between the States. A man does not need to have much intelligence to see the difference between the principles involved. In the Civil War the North was holding the people of the South in the Union, but the people were not to be subjects; they were to be citizens. They were not held in the Union to be denied the privileges of citizenship." Neither did George III. intend to deprive the people of the American colonies of the privileges of British citizens. But here is Mr. Bryan's conclusion, in pleading for the Filipinos: "There are but two theories of government. One is that governments come up from the people. The other is that governments rest upon force. If this nation rejects the idea that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, then civilization starts backward toward the Dark Ages." †

Is it not, then, within the bounds of truth to say that the man who first "rejected" this idea, the man who first spurned and trampled under foot the principles of '76, leading to the conditions of 1865 and 1901, was even more the enemy of America and of liberty than George III. and Lord North?

*Speech of Elihu Root, Secretary of War, Canton, Ohio, October 24, 1900. Mr. March, of Illinois, in a debate in the House of Representatives, January 26, 1899, said "he was in favor of annexation of the Philippines whether the natives were willing or not. For four years we had fought in this country to force the Southern people to submit to the Constitution against their will. It was absurd to say that we could not employ force to take and hold the Philippines." So *Puck*, in a cartoon of the 25th of January, inscribes on the wall of "Uncle Sam's" schoolhouse: "The Confederate States refused their consent to be governed; but the Union was preserved without their consent."

† Speech of Hon. Wm. J. Bryan, Shepherdstown, W. Va., September 5, 1900.

THE REAL LINCOLN.

INTRODUCTION.*

A mistaken estimate of Abraham Lincoln has been spread abroad very widely, and even in the South an editorial in a very respectable religious paper lately said as follows: "Our country has more than once been singularly fortunate in the moral character and the admirable personality of its popular heroes. Washington, Lincoln and Lee have been the type of character that it was safe to hold up to the admiration of their own age and the imitation of succeeding generations." In the North the pæan of praise that began with his death has grown to such extravagance that he has been called by one eminent popular speaker "a servant and follower of Jesus Christ," and by another "first of all that have walked the earth after the Nazarene," and on his late birthday a eulogist asked us to give up aspirations for a heaven where Lincoln's presence is not assured.

To try to reawaken or to foster ill will between the North and the South would be a useless, mischievous and most censurable task, and it will be seen that this sketch has an exactly opposite purpose, but it is a duty to correct such misrepresentations, for the reason that they make claims for Lincoln entirely inconsistent with the concessions of grave defects in him that are made by the closest associates of his private life, and by his most respectable and most eulogistic biographers, and equally inconsistent with the estimates of him expressed by the greatest and closest associates of his

*A part of the historical material used in this sketch has been used before in letters over the author's name in daily papers, as follows: In the Richmond (Va.) Times, of December 31st, 1898: of September 3d, 1899, and of May 11th, 1900; in the Baltimore Sun, of April 3d, 1899, of August 25th, 1900, of October 12th, 1900, and of March 4th, 1901; in the Richmond (Va.) Dispatch, January 14th, 1900, and of March 13th, 1900. The last two appeared in the Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. XXVII., as Articles XXI. and XLIII., pp. 165, 365.

public life, and by a very large part of the great Northern and Western Republican leaders of his own day. This sketch is based on the testimony of such witnesses only.

In the Appendix will be found, in alphabetical order, the names of all the witnesses whose evidence is submitted in this sketch. Reference is invited to that Appendix, as each witness is reached by the reader, and it will be found that each is included in one of the above indicated classes. Only old and exceptionally well-informed men of this day are likely to know the ample authority with which these witnesses speak. See Horace Greeley, whose lofty integrity extorted admiration from thousands on whose nearest and dearest interests his Tribune newspaper waged a war as deadly as it was honest; see Lincoln's greatest Cabinet Ministers—Seward, Chase and Stanton; see two among the foremost leaders of thought and action of their day, John Sherman and Ben Wade; see representatives of the highest standards, intellectual and moral, Richard Dana and Edward Everett; see the most ardent and prominent of Abolitionists, Wendell Phillips; and see the correspondent of the London *Times*, Russell; see the most up-to-date historians of our own day, Ida Tarbell, A. K. McClure, Schouler, Ropes and Rhodes; and see the most intimate associates of Lincoln's lifetime, Lamon and Herndon, who give such reasons for telling not the good only, but *all* they know about their great friend, as win commendation from the latest biographers of all, Morse and Hapgood, whose books have received only praise from the American reading public.

Was Lincoln Heroic?

Among the heroic traits claimed for Lincoln is personal courage. This claim is hard to reconcile with his carefully-concealed midnight ride into Washington a day or two before his inauguration. McClure and others have been at no small pains to apologize for it, but Greeley likened him* to "a hunted fugitive," and Lamon, the intimate friend of his lifetime, who was selected by himself as the one heavily armed companion of the midnight journey, expressly declares that

* *American Conflict*, Vol. I., p. 421.

the apprehensions of violence were without the slightest foundation then or on the inauguration day, described below. Nicolay and Hay devote a chapter (XX. of Vol. III.) to it, but do not claim that there was any danger. Morse, as jealous to defend Lincoln as any other, concedes there was no danger, and that "Lamon's account of it * * * is doubtless the most trustworthy."

Ida Tarbell describes Lincoln's progress through the city to his Inaugural ceremony—the strong military force, including artillery, assembled to protect him under command of General Winfield Scott—"platoons of soldiers" at the street corners, "groups of riflemen on the housetops," and shows how he passed through a board tunnel into the Capitol building "with fifty or sixty soldiers under the platform." The story of the journey and of the Inauguration makes quite comprehensible what Lamon and Vice-President Hamlin record, that Lincoln was bitterly ashamed ever afterward of what he had done in this matter.*

When Baltimore had stopped the Massachusetts soldiers and Maryland had stopped all soldiers going to Washington, so that the capital seemed to be left at the mercy of the South, Ida Tarbell, Nicolay and Hay, Schouler and Rhodes, give singular accounts of Lincoln's state of apprehension. Rhodes and Tarbell quote his words: "Why don't they come? Why don't they come? I begin to believe there is no North. The Seventh Regiment is a myth." * * * * †

Russell wrote to the London *Times* (My Diary, North and South, page 43) that when Washington city was in panic after

* McClure's *Our Presidents* and his *Lincoln* (p. 46 *et seq.*); Lamon's *Lincoln* (p. 46 *et seq.*, 88 *et seq.*, 513 *et seq.*); Ida Tarbell, in *McClure's Magazine* for January and February, 1900; Greeley's *American Conflict* (Vol. I., p. 421 *et seq.*); Morse's *Lincoln* (p. 197 *et seq.*); Hamlin's *Life of Hamlin* (p. 389), and Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. III., p. 304). The Hon. Henry L. Dawes says, in *Tributes from his Associates* (p. 4): "He never altogether lost to me the look with which he met the curious and, for the moment, not very kind gaze of the House of Representatives on that first morning after what they deemed a pusillanimous creep into Washington."

† Ida Tarbell, in *McClure's Magazine* for February, 1899 (p. 325); Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. III., p. 368); Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln* (Vol. IV., p. 152 *et seq.*); Schouler's *History of the United States* (Vol. VI., p. 45).

the defeat at Bull Run* Lincoln "sat listening in fear and trembling for the sound of the enemy's cannon."

In the second great panic in Washington, when the Union army under General Pope was utterly routed and close on Washington in retreat, Gorham and Rhodes† describe Lincoln in such doubt and apprehension as to say to Chase and Stanton, of his Cabinet, that "he would gladly resign his place." General B. F. Butler censures the account of Lincoln's condition given by Nicolay and Hay, as follows: "A careful reading of that description would lead one to infer that Lincoln was in a state of abject fear."

The *Life of Charles Francis Adams* describes (page 120 *et seq.*) Adams' visit to the new President to get his instructions as Minister to England. He got none whatever, was "half amused, half mortified, altogether shocked," and got an impression of "dismay" at Lincoln's behavior and his unconsciousness of "the gravity of the crisis," or his insensibility to it, and perceived that Lincoln was only "intent on the distribution of offices." The biographer, his son, says that this impression had not faded from the mind of Mr. Adams twelve years later, when he made a *Memorial Address* on the death of Seward, as indeed plainly appears in that address.

Rhodes records contempt for Lincoln expressed by his Secretary, Salmon P. Chase, afterwards made by Lincoln Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and says that Chase "was by no means alone in his judgment," and that "in many Senators and Representatives existed a distrust of his ability and force of character," and he further quotes so high an authority as Richard H. Dana, who said in one letter, when on a visit to Washington, "the lack of respect for the President in all parties is unconcealed," and wrote, in March, 1863, to Charles Francis Adams, Minister to England, that Lincoln "has no admirers * * * and does not act, talk, or feel like the ruler of a great empire in a great crisis, * * * he is an unspeakable calamity to us where he is."‡ General Donn Piatt,

* Russell's *My Diary*

† Gorham's *Life of Stanton* (Vol. II., p. 44 *et seq.*); Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. IV., p. 137 *et seq.*); Butler's Book (p. 219).

‡ Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. IV., pp. 205 to 210 *et seq.* and a note on p. 210).

in *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (page 286) denies the claim made for Lincoln that he was of a kind or forgiving nature or of any gentle impulses, and shows (page 493) his extraordinary insensibility to the ills of his fellow-citizens and soldiers when the miseries of the war were at their worst, and sets forth (page 481 to 500) his entire indifference to the condition of the negroes or their future fate. Whitney, too, says "he had no intention to make voters of the negroes—in fact their welfare did not enter into his policy at all."*

What Lincoln was capable of in his dealings with women is conclusively illustrated by his letter to Mrs. Browning about Miss Owens. Lamon copies it and so do Herndon and Hapgood. Nicolay and Hay concede its authenticity in trying to make light of it; Hapgood copies besides another letter in which Lincoln asks Miss Owens to marry him. Morse calls the letter to Mistress Browning "one of the most unfortunate epistles ever penned," and elsewhere calls it "that most abominable epistle."† Acknowledging that he had lately asked Miss Owens to marry him and had been refused by her, Lincoln writes to Mrs. Browning that one of his reasons for asking her to marry him was the conviction that no other man would ever do so. Lamon speaks (page 181) of "its coarse exaggeration in describing a person whom the writer was willing to marry, its imputation of toothless and weather-beaten old age to a woman young and handsome."

Evidence of the marriage of Lincoln's parents has been found since Lamon's *Lincoln* was published in 1872 (see page 10), and like evidence of his mother's legitimate birth since Hapgood's *Lincoln* was published in 1900 (see page 5). But Lincoln himself was capable of bringing shame upon the birth of his mother to escape the reproach of being of the unmixed "poor white" blood of the Hanks family. Herndon's *Lincoln* (Vol. I., page 3) says: "It was about 1850, when he and I were driving in his one-horse buggy to the court in Minard county, Illinois. * * * He said of his mother * * * that she was the illegitimate daughter of Lucy Hanks and of a well-

* *On Circuit with Lincoln*, p. 364.

† See Lamon's *Lincoln*, p. 181 *et seq.*, and Herndon's *Lincoln*, Vol. I., p. 55, and Hapgood's *Lincoln*, p. 64 to 71, and Nicolay & Hay's *Lincoln*. Vol. I., p. 192

bred Virginia farmer or planter, and he argued that from this last source came his power of analysis, his mental activity, his ambition, and all the qualities that distinguished him from the other members of the Hanks family, * * * and he believed that his better nature and finer qualities came from this broad-minded, unknown Virginian."

Was Lincoln a Christian?

As to Lincoln's attitude towards religion, Holland in his *Lincoln*, says (page 286), that twenty out of the twenty-three ministers of the different denominations of Christians, and a very large majority of the prominent members of the churches in his home (Springfield, Illinois) opposed him for President. He says (page 241): * * * "Men who knew him throughout all his professional and political life," have said "that, so far from being a religious man, or a Christian, the less said about that the better." He says of Lincoln's first recorded religious utterance, used in closing his farewell address to Springfield, that it "was regarded by many as an evidence both of his weakness and of his hypocrisy * * * and was tossed about as a joke—'old Abe's Last.'"

Hapgood's *Lincoln* (page 291 *et seq.*) records that the pious words with which the Emancipation Proclamation closes were added at the suggestion of Secretary Chase, and so do Rhodes and Usher, and Rhodes shows him plainly an infidel if not an atheist.* Of his words that savor of religion, Lamon says, in his *Lincoln* (page 503): "If he did not believe in it, the masses of 'the plain people' did, and no one was ever more anxious to do what was of good report among men." Lamon further says (page 197), that after Mr. Lincoln "appreciated * * * the violence and extent of the religious prejudices which freedom of discussion from his standpoint would be sure to rouse against him," and "the immense and augmenting power of the churches," * * * (page 502) "he indulged freely in indefinite expressions about 'Divine Providence,' 'the justice of God,'

* Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. II., p. 312); and he adds: "When Lincoln entered political life he became reticent upon his religious opinions." Usher in *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (p. 91).

the 'favor of the Most High,' in his published documents, but he nowhere ever professed the slightest faith in Jesus as the Son of God and the Saviour of men." (Page 501 *et seq.*) "He never told any one that he accepted Jesus as the Christ, or performed one of the acts which necessarily followed upon such a conviction (page 487)." "When he went to church at all, he went to mock, and came away to mimic." On page 157 and thereafter Lamon tells minutely of the writing and the burning of a "little book," written by Lincoln with the purpose to disprove the truth of the Bible and the divinity of Christ, and tells how it was burned without his consent by his friend Hill, lest it should ruin his political career before a Christian people. He says that Hill's son called the book "infamous," and that "the book was burnt, but he never denied or regretted its composition; on the contrary, he made it the subject of free and frequent conversations with his friends at Springfield, and stated with much particularity and precision the origin, arguments and object of the work."

Herndon describes the "essay" or "book" as "an argument against Christianity, striving to prove that the Bible was not inspired, and therefore not God's revelation, and that Jesus Christ was not the Son of God." Herndon says that Lincoln intended to have the "essay" published, and further says that Lincoln "would come into the clerk's office where I and some young men were writing, * * * and would bring a Bible with him; would read a chapter and argue against it."*

A letter of Herndon's, published in Lamon's *Lincoln* (page 492 *et seq.*), says of Lincoln's contest with the Rev. Peter Cartwright for Congress in 1848 (page 404): "In that contest he was accused of being an infidel, if not an atheist; he never denied the charge; would not; 'would die first,' because he knew it could be and would be proved."

On pages 487 to 514 Lamon's *Lincoln* records numerous letters from Lincoln's intimate associates, and one from his wife, that fully confirm the above testimony as to his attitude of hostility to religion.

* Herndon's *Lincoln* (Vol. III., p. 39 *et seq.* and 439 *et seq.*), and Lamon's *Lincoln* (p. 492).

Lincoln's Jokes and Stories.

Holland's *Lincoln* says of the indecency of his jokes and stories: "It is useless for Mr. Lincoln's biographers to ignore this habit; the whole West, if not the whole country (he is writing in 1866) is full of these stories, and there is no doubt at all that he indulged in them with the same freedom that he did in those of a less objectionable character."

Again he says (page 251): * * * "Men who knew him throughout all his professional and political life * * * have said that he was the foulest in his jests and stories of any man in the country."

Comprehensive as this indictment is, it is fully sustained by testimony submitted below from Morse, Hapgood, Piatt, Rhodes, Lamon and—most shocking testimony of all—from Herndon.

Norman Hapgood, the latest biographer of Lincoln (of 1900), and Morse, the next latest (of 1892), confirm the "revelations" and the "ghastly exposures" about Lincoln that will be described below as recorded by Lamon and by Herndon. Morse says that a necessity and duty rested on those biographers to record these truths, as they both claim, and Hapgood says, "Herndon has told the President's early life with refreshing honesty and with more information than any one else."* General Donn Piatt records an occasion when he heard Lincoln tell stories, "no one of which will bear printing." Lamon adds to all this his testimony that this habit of Lincoln "was restrained by no presence and no occasion," and Piatt refers to him as "the man who could open a Cabinet meeting called to discuss the Emancipation Proclamation by reading aloud Artemus Ward," and refers to Gettysburg as "the field that he shamed with a ribald song," making reference to a song that Lincoln asked for and got sung on the Gettysburg battlefield, the day he made his celebrated address there. This behavior has been much discussed by his eulogists, and defended as a relief necessary for a nature so sensitive and high-wrought.†

*Morse's *Lincoln* (Vol. I., pp. 13 and 192 *et seq.*); Hapgood's *Lincoln* (Preface p. 8).

†Lamon's *Lincoln* (p. 430), and *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (p. 486 *et seq.*, and p. 481 *et seq.*, and p. 455).

"Was ever so sublime a thing ushered in by the ridiculous?" says Rhodes. (Vol. IV., page 161.)

Herndon gives in his first volume (at page 55 and thereafter) a copy of a satire written by Lincoln, *The First Chronicle of Reuben*, and an account of the very slight provocation under which Lincoln wrote it, and in two foot notes describes the exceedingly base and indecent device by which Lincoln brought about the events which gave opportunity for this satire; and Herndon adds some verses written and circulated by Lincoln which he considers even more vile than the "*Chronicle*." Of these verses Lamon says, "It is impossible to transcribe them," in his *Lincoln* (pages 63 and 64). Decency does not permit the publication of the *Chronicle* or the verses here.

In neither of A. K. McClure's books, *Lincoln and Men of the War Time*, published in 1892, or *Our Presidents, Etc.*, published in 1900, does he offer any contradiction of the "revelations," and "ghastly disclosures" that Lamon and Herndon had published to the world so long before, but McClure does say in the earlier of the books, in the preface (page 2), "The closest men to Lincoln, before and after his election to the presidency, were David Davis, Leonard Swett, Ward H. Lamon and William H. Herndon." Letters of the two first named are among the letters referred to above, published by Lamon as evidence of Lincoln's attitude toward religion.

If any would take refuge in the hope that the responsibilities of his high office raised Lincoln above these habits of indecency and godlessness, they are met by authentic stories of his grossly unseemly behavior as President, by the evidence of Lamon, the chosen associate of his lifetime, that his indulgence in gross jokes and stories was "restrained by no presence and no occasion," and by a letter of Nicolay, his senior private secretary throughout his administration, which states that he perceived no change in Lincoln's attitude toward religion after his entrance on the presidency.*

* Lamon's *Lincoln* (p. 480 and pp. 487 to 504). The *Cosmopolitan*, of March, 1901, says that Nicolay "probably was closer to the martyred President than any other man. * * * That he knew Lincoln as President and as man more intimately than any other man." * * Rhodes is everywhere zealous

Estimates of Lincoln Entertained by the Greatest Republicans of his Day and by the Greatest of his Associates in his Public Career.

The evidence thus far submitted concerns chiefly the personal character of Lincoln, and his private career. Let us proceed to consider evidence to show that his character and conduct of public affairs provoked the bitterest censure from a very great number of his co-workers in his achievements, among whom may be named Greeley, Thaddeus Stevens, Sumner, Trumbull, Zach. Chandler, Fred. Douglas, Beecher, Wendell Phillips, Wilson, Hamlin and Seward; while the most bitter and contemptuous and persistent of all Lincoln's critics were Chase, Secretary of the Treasury and Chief Justice, and Stanton, known ever since as his great War Secretary.

Ben Perley Poore, in *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (page 248), shows Beecher's censures of Lincoln, and so do Beecher's editorials in the *Independent* of 1862, and Rhodes' History of the United States (page 462), which shows, too (page 463), that Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, was among Lincoln's opponents for re-election in 1864.

Hapgood quotes Wendell Phillips about Lincoln: "Who is this huckster in politics? Who is this County Court lawyer?" Morse gives severe censures of Lincoln by Wendell Phillips. McClure records bitter reprobation of him by Thaddeus Stevens. Ida Tarbell calls Sumner, Wade, Winter Davis and Chase "malicious foes of Lincoln," on the authority of one

to defend Lincoln, but he thinks fit to record the following (*History of the United States*, Vol. IV., p. 471, note and p. 518), prefacing it with the statement that the *World* was then the organ of the best element of the Democratic party; that the *New York World*, of June 19th, 1864, called Lincoln "an ignorant, boorish, third-rate, backwoods lawyer," and reported that the spokesman of a delegation sent to carry the resolutions of a great religious organization to the President, publicly denounced him as "disgracefully unfit for the high office"; and that a Republican Senator from New York was reported to have left the President's presence because his self-respect would not permit him to stay and listen to the language he employed. Rhodes further sets down "a tradition" that Andrews, the great War Governor of Massachusetts, when pressing a matter he had at heart, went away in disgust at being put off by the President with "a smutty story."

of Lincoln's closest intimates, Leonard Swett, and makes the remarkable and comprehensive concession that "about all the most prominent leaders * * * were actively opposed to Lincoln," and mentions Greeley as their chief. McClure's *Lincoln* shows the hostility to Lincoln of Sumner, Trumbull and Chandler, and of his Vice-President, Hamlin.

Fremont, who eight years before had received every Republican vote for President, charged Lincoln with "incapacity and selfishness," with "disregard of personal rights," with "violation of personal liberty and liberty of the press," with "feebleness and want of principle," and says: "The ordinary rights under the Constitution and laws of the country have been violated"; and he further accuses Lincoln of "managing the war for personal ends."

Holland shows Fremont, Wendell Phillips, Fred Douglas and Greeley as leaders in the very nearly successful effort to defeat Lincoln's second election. The call for the convention for that purpose, held in Cleveland May 31, 1864, said that "the public liberty was in danger"; that its object was to arouse the people, "and bring them to realize that, while we are saturating Southern soil with the best blood of the country in the name of liberty, we have really parted with it at home."*

McClure's *Lincoln*, recording the hostile attitude toward Lincoln of the leading members of the Cabinet, makes a concession (page 54) comprehensive as Miss Tarbell's above: "Outside of the Cabinet the leaders were equally discordant and quite as distrustful of the ability of Lincoln to fill his great office. Sumner, Trumbull, Chandler, Wade, Winter Davis and the men to whom the nation then turned as the great representative men of the new political power, did not conceal their distrust of Lincoln, and he had little support from them at any time during his administration," and McClure says again (page 289 *et seq.*): "Greeley was a perpetual thorn in Lincoln's side * * * and almost constantly criticised him boldly and often bitterly. * * * Greeley labored (page 296)

* Hapgood's *Lincoln* (p. 164); Morse's *Lincoln* (Vol. I., p. 177); McClure's *Lincoln* (p. 117 and p. 259 and p. 54 *et seq.* and p. 104); Ida Tarbell, in *McClure's Magazine* for 1899 (p. 277) and for July, 1899 (p. 218 *et seq.*), and Holland's *Lincoln* (p. 259 *et seq.*)

most faithfully to accomplish Lincoln's overthrow in his great struggle for re-election in 1864." See Morse's *Lincoln* (Vol. II., page 193). And Edward Everett Hale's new book, *Lowell, Etc.* (page 178 *et seq.*) shows that even the circumstances of Lincoln's death did not for a day abate Greeley's reprobation.

The careful reader will not fail to observe that Lincoln's first term of four years was at this time nearly over, so that all this bitter censure from his associates was based on full knowledge of him.

Seward has been much criticised and accused of rare presumption for a letter that he wrote to the President as Secretary of State, one month after his first inauguration, because the letter manifested a sense of superiority, and condescendingly offered his advice and aid and leadership. It is possible that Seward did feel some of the contempt for Lincoln that his brethren in the Cabinet, Chase and Stanton, never ceased to express freely for Lincoln and very frequently showed to his face throughout their long terms of office, as will be shown. Like them, Governor Seward was a man of the highest social standing, and of large experience in the highest public functions. The Lincoln that so many now call a hero and a saint is exceedingly different from the Lincoln that the people who came in contact with him knew up to the time of his death, as is frankly avowed further on in this sketch by Adams and Piatt, and reluctantly conceded by Crittenden and Rhodes. What he was capable of in personal habits, manners and morals has been shown in the account of the "First Chronicle of Reuben," and his submission to humiliations such as have been described is not unaccountable.

Few were more ardent Abolitionists than Seward, as shown in Bancroft's late *Life* of him, but he was no tiro in statecraft, and the policy he so authoritatively suggested was to "change the question before the public from one upon slavery for a question upon union or disunion."

Lincoln at once adopted that policy, and by means of it he precipitated the war. Its astuteness in distracting men's minds from the matter of slavery has been much commended. General Butler says that as late as July, 1861, no one in power

was in favor of emancipation. This letter of Seward's did not come to light for years, and Seward might well say as he did, that Lincoln "had a cunning that was genius."

McClure's *Lincoln* (page 150 *et seq.*) says: "Stanton had been in open and malignant opposition to the administration only a few months before." (This was in January, 1862.) "Stanton often spoke of and to public men, military and civil, with a withering sneer. I have heard him scores of times thus speak of Lincoln and several times thus speak to Lincoln.*" * * * "After Stanton's retirement from the Buchanan Cabinet, when Lincoln was inaugurated, he maintained the closest confidential relations with Buchanan, and wrote him many letters expressing the utmost contempt for Lincoln." * * "These letters, * * * given to the public in Curtis' *Life of Buchanan*, speak freely of the painful imbecility of Lincoln, the venality and corruption which ran riot in the government," and McClure goes on: "It is an open secret that Stanton advised the revolutionary overthrow of the Lincoln government, to be replaced by General McClellan as Military Dictator. * * * These letters, published by Curtis, bad as they are, are not the worst letters written by Stanton to Buchanan. Some of them are so violent in their expression against Lincoln * * * that they have been charitably withheld from the public."† Whitney, in his *On Circuit with Lincoln* (page 424), tells of these suppressed letters. See, too, his pages 422 to 424 *et seq.*, and Ben Perley Poore, in *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (page 223) and Kasson in *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (page 381), all in confirmation of Stanton's estimate and treatment of Lincoln. Hapgood's *Lincoln* refers (page 164) to Stanton's "brutal absence of decent personal feeling" towards Lincoln, and tells of Stanton's insulting behavior when they met five years earlier, of which meeting Stanton said that he "had

* McClure's *Lincoln* (p. 150 *et seq.* and p. 155). Yet to a man of President Buchanan's character and standing Stanton showed an excess of deference; for Mr. Buchanan complained, in a letter to his niece, Miss Harriet Lane, (See Curtis's *Life of Buchanan*. Vol. II., p. 533) that Stanton, when in his cabinet, "was always on my side and flattered me *ad nauseam*."

† Hapgood's *Lincoln* (p. 254), Gorham's *Life of Stanton* (Vol. I., p. 213).

met him at the bar and found him a low, cunning clown.”* McClure says of Stanton: “He had little respect for Lincoln’s fitness for the presidency.”

Of Chase, McClure says, in his *Lincoln* (page 8): “Chase was the most irritating fly in the Lincoln ointment.” Ida Tarbell says: “But Mr. Chase was never able to realize Mr. Lincoln’s greatness.” Nicolay and Hay’s *Lincoln* says about Chase: “Even to complete strangers he could not write without speaking slightly about the President. He kept up this habit to the end of Lincoln’s life.” * * * “But his attitude towards the President, it is hardly too much to say, was one which varied between the limits of active hostility and benevolent contempt.” Yet none rate Chase higher than Nicolay and Hay do for character, talent and patriotism. Rhodes says Chase “dealt censure unrestrained to the President’s conduct of the war.”†

How Far Did the North and the West Approve the War and Emancipation?

The impression upon the minds of thousands of people about the War between the States may be formulated as follows: That at the firing upon Fort Sumter, the people of the Northern States rose with one mind and for the four years of the war ungrudgingly poured forth their treasure and shed their blood to re-establish the Union and to free the slaves. Let us consider how much foundation there is for this popular impression.

In order to show the enormous difficulties overcome by their hero, Lincoln, in accomplishing his two notable achievements, his eulogists have furnished much evidence that goes to show

* Ben Perley Poore in *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (p. 223). Ida Tarbell in *McClure’s Magazine* for March, 1899, tells the story of this earliest manifestation of Stanton’s contempt for Lincoln. Morse’s *Lincoln* says (Vol. I., p. 327 that Stanton “carried his revlings of the President to the point of coarse personal insults,” and refers to his (p. 326) “habitual insults.”

† McClure’s *Lincoln* (p. 156, and besides pp. 130, 151, 155 and p. 9; Ida Tarbell in *McClure’s Magazine* for January, 1899, Nicolay and Hay’s *Lincoln* (Vol. IX., p. 389, Vol. VI., p. 264), and elsewhere. Rhodes’ *History of the United States* (Vol. IV., p. 205).

that both the coercion of the South and the emancipation of the negroes were accomplished against the will of the Democratic party and of no small part of the Republican party in the North and the West, and their evidence to that effect will now be submitted.

As Abolition had been talked of long before the coercion of the South was thought of, it seems best to consider, first, the question, How far did the North and the West approve emancipation?

Let us examine the testimony on this question before and after Lincoln became President.

If the Fugitive-Slave laws seem to any shameful, Andrews, long president of Brown University, bitterest of Abolitionists, concedes that those laws were passed by a Congress that had a decided majority of Northern men, and Lincoln repeatedly pledged himself to their execution,* and put such a pledge into his Inaugural. Andrews records that Abolition was opposed by an overwhelming majority of the Northern people and the Western people, not only down to the war, but during the whole of it, and as long as opposition to it was at all safe. Bitter as his reprobation of this public sentiment is, he frankly concedes it, and says that between 1830 and 1840 "there was hardly a place of any size where anyone could advocate emancipation," and that "by 1850 there were few places where an Abolitionist might not safely speak his mind"; that in 1841 there were but two advocates of it in Congress.† "Charles Francis Adams' Life" records (page 29) that Garrison was mobbed in Boston in 1835 for being an Abolitionist. See, also, page 33 and page 58. Page 105 and thereafter shows how ill-esteemed and shabby the Republican party in Washington was as late as 1859. In Edward Everett Hale's lately published book, "James Russell Lowell, Etc." he names (page 22 *et seq.*) a class-mate who was, he thinks, the only Abolitionist in Harvard College in 1838, and says "Boston as Boston hated

* Holland's *Lincoln* (p. 347).

† Andrews' *History of the United States* (Vol. II., p. 15). It describes besides the destruction of charitable schools for negroes and even of their homes, by people regarded as the most respectable classes of society in Connecticut and elsewhere in New England and the prohibition by law of schools for negro children. See heading of Chapter IX. in John A. Logan's *Great Conspiracy*.

Abolitionism," and the stevedores and longshoremen * * * hated "a nigger"—that Dr. Palfrey, once of the Divinity Faculty of Harvard, "like most men with whom he lived, had opposed Abolition with all his might, his voice and his pen," and he adds that "the conflict at the outset was not a crusade against slavery." The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher said in an address to the people of Manchester, England,* that in the North "Abolitionists were rejected by society * * * * blighted in political life"; that to be called an Abolitionist caused a merchant to be avoided as if he had the plague; that the "doors of confidence were closed upon him" in the church. Holland's *Lincoln* (page 67) says that in 1830 the "prevailing sentiment" of Illinois was "in favor of slavery" * * * "the Abolitionist was despised by both parties." And George William Curtis† reproaches his own people as follows: "We betrayed our own principles, and those who would not betray them we reviled as fanatics and traitors; we made the name of Abolitionist more odious than any in our annals (Vol. I., page 28). If a man * * * died for liberty, as Lovejoy did at Alton, he was called a fanatical fool." Of the same death the editor of the book says (Vol. I., page 130), "and the country scowled, and muttered 'Served him right.'"+ Curtis goes on, "The Fugitive-Slave law was vigorously enforced in Ohio and other States. Volume I. (page 75 *et seq.*) quotes the declaration of Edward Everett as Governor of Massachusetts, that "discussion that leads to insurrection is an offence against the Commonwealth," and quotes Daniel Webster that "it is an affair of high morals to aid in enforcing the Fugitive-Slave law." He quotes (Vol. I., page 88) a speech in 1859 of Stephen A. Douglas that fully justified slavery, and he quotes him as saying (page 51), "If you go over into Virginia to steal her negroes, she will catch you and put you in jail, with other thieves." In the same spirit of scornful denunciation as the above, Curtis sets forth (Vol. I.,

* See a collection of his speeches in the *Pratt Library, Baltimore*, marked 53866-2557.

† His *Orations* (Vol. I., p. 146).

‡ Lovejoy was an Abolitionist who was killed by a mob in Alton, Illinois, in 1836.

pages 80 to 82) the purpose the North entertained not to interfere with slavery. "In other free States men were flying for their lives; were mobbed, seized, imprisoned, maimed, murdered" * * * And all this was as late as 1850. "The Southern policy (Vol. I., page 130 *et seq.*) seemed to conquer. The church, the college, trade, fashion, the vast political parties, took Calhoun's side. * * * In Boston, in Philadelphia, in New York, in Utica, in New Haven, and in a hundred villages, when an American citizen proposed to say what he thought of a great public question, * * * he was insulted, mobbed, chased and maltreated." "The Governor of Ohio (Vol. I., page 131) actually delivered a citizen of that State to the demand of Kentucky to be tried for helping a slave to escape." Volume I. (page 132) gives Seward's picture of the entire unanimity of the Washington government both at home and abroad in supporting the Southern side, and says (page 139), "Fernando Wood and the New York *Herald* were the true spokesmen of the confused public sentiment of the city of New York, when one proposed the secession of the city and the other proposed the adoption of the Montgomery Constitution"—that is, the Constitution of the Confederate States, which was adopted at Montgomery, Alabama. And Curtis goes on: "If the city of New York in February, 1861, had voted upon its acceptance, it would have been adopted." At page 174, Curtis says, referring to the enlistment of negro soldiers, * * * "but I remember that four years ago there were good men among us who said, 'If white hands can't win this fight, let it be lost.'" Does not Curtis here concede that "white hands" did not win the fight? Whether he does or not, did not Lincoln in his Emancipation Proclamation concede that "white hands" could not or would not win the fight, and did not Lincoln frequently say afterwards in defence of his autocratic action, that but for his emancipating and arming the negroes the fight would not have been won? And—finally—did the "white hands" of the great North and West lack numbers or wealth or courage to win the fight, if it had been their *will*?

The popular will about emancipation was accurately measured by the vote that Fremont got, running as Free-Soil

candidate, only four years before Lincoln's election. His votes from the whole United States were only 146,149. Schouler's "History of the United States" (pages 214 *et seq.*) records that General B. F. Butler offered his Massachusetts brigade to put down any negro insurrection, and that "few, North or South, during the first year of the war, sought, or approved emancipation." General B. F. Butler* says: "If we had beaten at Bull Run, I have no doubt the whole contest would have been patched up by concessions to slavery, as no one in power then was ready for its abolition." Lincoln himself said in his famous letter to Greeley in the *Tribune*, "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it."

Hardly any testimony on the question, How the Border States regarded emancipation could be better than Lincoln's own, which we have. When a delegation urged him to emancipate the negroes by a proclamation, he expressed the apprehension † that, if he should do as they wished, fifty thousand rifles from the Border States, then serving in the army of the Union, might go over to the opposing side; and Ida Tarbell tells us in *McClure's Magazine* for May, 1899, that Lincoln said that, if he should enlist negroes in his army, two hundred thousand muskets that he had put into the hands of Border-State men would be turned against the Union army.

The Issue Changed from Slavery to Saving the Union.

Following, if not guided by, Seward's advice showed above, Lincoln disclaimed any purpose of emancipation, but most astutely used the firing on Fort Sumter to rouse the war spirit. The word "astutely" is aptly applied, for the flag had been fired on in the same place two months earlier—an exceedingly important fact which has been very strangely ignored, but cannot be denied. The steamer *Star of the West* had been sent two months earlier with food and two hundred recruits to relieve Fort Sumter,‡ and while flying the great flag of a

* Butler's Book (p. 293), and Phillips Brooks wrote almost exactly the same in a letter, October, 1862, *Life and Letters*, by Allen.

† Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*.

‡ Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln* (Vol. VIII., p. 96 *et seq.*)

garrison, was fired on, hit twice, and driven away—"retired a little ignominiously," Morse reports it*—and he adds that Senator Wigfall jeered insolently: "Your flag has been insulted, redress it if you dare." George William Curtis† deplores that they "were unable or unwilling to avenge a mortal insult to our own flag in our own waters upon the Star of the West." Ropes and Channing‡ give a like description of the occurrence. Russell writes to the *London Times* from America: § "It is absurd to assert * * * that the sudden outburst when Fort Sumter was fired upon was caused by the insult to the flag. Why, the flag had been fired on long before Sumter was attacked * * * it had been torn down from the United States arsenals and forts all over the South and fired upon when the Federal flag was flying from the Star of the West." He says, too, "secession was an accomplished fact months before Lincoln came into office, but we heard no talk of rebels and pirates till Sumter had fallen. * * * The North was perfectly quiescent." Rhodes says that Chase called it "an accomplished revolution," when Lincoln entered on the presidency. ||

This "firing on the flag" on the Star of the West produced no sensation at all, but was accepted by the whole country as an accompaniment of the secession of the States.

We have learned afresh of late the meaning of the words used above, "to rouse the *War Spirit*." A very respectable part of the wisdom and virtue of this country deplore and reprobate the war now waging by the United States, and yet they do make and can make no opposition, but support the war just as those do who approve it most warmly. We know now that a war, once begun, sweeps into its support, not only the regular army, the navy, the Treasury, but volunteer organizations and the youth of the country, who think they must respond to any national call for arms.

* Morse's *Lincoln* (Vol. I., p. 196).

† *Orations* (Vol. I., p. 141).

‡ Ropes *Story of the Civil War* (Pt. I., p. 45. Channing's *Short History of the United States* (p. 313).

§ Russell's *Diary North and South* (p. 72 *et seq.*, and p. 131 *et seq.*)

|| Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. III., p. 343).

How Far Did the North and the West Approve Forcing Back the South Into the Union?

The authorities we quote have put on record ample proof of a widespread conviction in the North and the West in 1861 that the use of force to retain States in the Union was not only inadmissible under the Constitution, but abhorrent to the principles on which their political institutions rested.

Russell in his *Diary* (page 13) quotes Bancroft, the historian, afterwards Minister to England, for the opinion in 1860 that the United States had no authority to coerce the people of the South; which opinion, Bancroft told Russell, was widely entertained among the most prominent men of all classes in the North; and Russell reports the same opinion as prevailing in March, 1861 (page 14 *et seq.*) in New York and in Washington—and that there was “little sympathy with and no respect for (page 15) Lincoln.” He found Senator Sumner and Secretary Chase disposed to let the Southern States “go out with their slavery.”

The *Life of Charles Francis Adams*, Lincoln's Minister to England, says (page 49 *et seq.*) that “up to the very day of the firing on the flag, the attitude of the Northern States, even in case of hostilities, was open to grave question, while that of the Border States did not admit of a doubt” * * * “that Mr. Seward, the member of the President's Cabinet in charge of foreign affairs, both in his official papers and his private talk, repudiated not only the right, but the wish even to use armed force in subjugating the Southern States against the will of a majority of the people, and declared that the President willingly (page 151) accepted as true the cardinal dogma of the seceding States, that the Federal Government had no authority for coercion; * * * and all this time (page 150) the Southern sympathizers throughout the ‘loyal’ States were earnest and outspoken.”

General B. F. Butler records that Henry Dunning, Mayor of Hartford, called the City Council together “to consult if my troops should be allowed to go through Hartford on the

way to the war. He was a true, loyal man, but did not believe in having a war. * * * He was a patriot to the core.”*

Morse's *Lincoln* (Vol. I., p. 231) makes the following remarkable statement: “Greeley and Seward and Wendell Phillips, representative men, were little better than secessionists. The statement sounds ridiculous, yet the proof against each comes from his own mouth. The *Tribune* had retracted none of those disunion sentiments of which examples have been given.”†

Even so late as April 10, 1861, Seward wrote officially to Charles Francis Adams, Minister to England, “Only an imperial and despotic government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State.” On April 9th the rumor of a fight at Sumter being spread abroad, Wendell Phillips said, “Here are a series of States girding the Gulf who think that their peculiar institutions require that they should have a separate government; they have a right to decide that question without appealing to you and to me * * * Standing with the principles of '76 behind us, who can deny them the right? * * * Abraham Lincoln has no right to a soldier in Fort Sumter * * * you cannot go through Massachusetts and recruit men to bombard Charleston and New Orleans.” Morse is comprehensive in his statement of the position taken by the Republicans, saying of Lincoln's early days in Washington: * * * “None of the distinguished men, leaders of his own party whom Lincoln found about him at Washington, were in a frame of mind to assist him efficiently.” Andrews deplores the fact that “coolness and absurd prejudice against coercing largely possessed even the loyal masses,” and that (Vol. II., page 95) “throughout the North the feeling was strong against all efforts at coercion.” McClure says: “Even in Philadelphia * * * nearly the whole commercial and financial interests were arrayed against Lincoln at first.”‡ Woodrow Wilson's *Division and Reunion*

* *Butler's Book* (p. 298); *Ropes' Story of the Civil War* (Pt. I., p. 14 *et seq.*); Morse's *Lincoln* (Vol. I, p. 190). and Greeley's *American Conflict* (p. 91 *et seq.*)

† Morse and others quote, from Greeley's editorials in his *Tribune*, repeated bitter censures of forcing the seceded States back into the Union.

‡ Morse's *Lincoln* (Vol. I., p. 223 and p. 4); McClure's *Our Presidents* (p. 177).

says (page 214) that "President Buchanan agreed with his Attorney-General that there was no constitutional means or warrant for coercing a State" (as indeed his last message shows beyond doubt), and adds that "such for the time seemed to be the general opinion of the country."

For months after the secession of South Carolina, while the other States were successively passing ordinances of secession and seizing the forts, arsenals, etc., within their boundaries, the government at Washington, President, Cabinet, Supreme Court and Congress, took not one step toward coercion, nor did either house of Congress listen to a suggestion of emancipation. These Senators and Representatives were from the North and the West only, and we may surely conclude that, at so critical a period they ascertained and carried out the will of their constituents. See the testimony of *Butler's Book*, that "during the whole War of the Rebellion the government was rarely ever aided, but usually impeded by the decisions of the Supreme Court, so that the President was obliged to suspend the writ of *Habeas Corpus* in order to relieve himself from the rulings of the court." This is stated by General Butler quite seriously and not, as might possibly be supposed, in any satirical mood. *Ropes' Story of the Civil War* (pt. I., page 19) says: "It is true that during the winter of 1860 Congress took no action whatever looking toward preparation for the conquest of the outgoing States." * * * From page 355 to 553 of the first volume of Greeley's *American Conflict* there is little but a record of the opposition to coercion of the South in the "loyal" States. Pages 357 *et seq.* and 354 *et seq.* show the action of the Legislatures of New Jersey and Illinois, both nearly unanimous, in the same direction. See, also (Vol. I., page 380 *et seq.*) the very strong support given to the amendment of the Constitution proposed by one whom Greeley called "the venerable and Union-loving Crittenden of Kentucky," which amendment guaranteed ample protection to slavery, and it could have been passed in Congress but for the fact that they knew the South thought the time for compromise was past.

Greeley describes (page 387 *et seq.*) a tremendous demonstration against the war made by New York State in February,

1861, in which her leaders promised about all the South could ask. In this, as in the New York State Democratic Convention, which he describes as "probably the strongest and most imposing assembly of delegates ever convened in the State" (page 392 *et seq.*), Greeley records expressions of the purpose, not only not to coerce, but to aid the South in case of war, which expressions were heard with applause; and in a speech of James S. Thayer, it was alleged that these views had been asserted in the last election by 333,000 votes in New York. Greeley further makes the following very remarkable statement: "That throughout the Free States eminent and eager advocates of adhesion to the new Confederacy by those States were widely heard and heeded." For more evidence to the same effect of the feeling of the North and the West, see McCall's *Life of Thad. Stercus* (pages 122 to 132 *et seq.*, page 211 *et seq.* and page 219 *et seq.*). The *Life of Hannibal Hamlin*, Lincoln's Vice-President, quotes Hamlin (page 459): "If we had had a common union in the North and a common loyalty to the government, we could have ended this Civil War months ago, but this aid and comfort the rebels had received from the Northern allies * * *

The advocacy of views strongly adverse to the war and to emancipation did not cease in the North and the West when the war began, dangerous as it soon became to advocate them. Imprisonment without trial, trials by court-martial, sentences to confinement in prisons or fortresses remote from home and friends, did reduce at last to silence all but the boldest—even Missourians, Kentuckians and Marylanders; and similar methods of repression were used in States remotest from the scenes of the war. Russell's *Diary* (page 198) mentions the news that * * * "members of the Maryland Legislature have been seized by the Federal authorities." This is of date September 11, 1861. See Dunning's *Essays on the Civil War*, etc. (Pages 19, 21 *et seq.*)

Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. IV., page 195) describes minutely the imprisonments at different times and places of two men of Indiana (Olds and Walk), who, he says, enjoyed before, then, and thereafter the highest respect and confidence of their neighbors and constituents, and were

honored by them the more for their sufferings, and Dunning instances these as samples of much other such treatment of those who opposed the war and emancipation.

Gorham's *Life of Stanton* quotes a proclamation of Stanton as Secretary of War issued in justification of Lincoln's usurpation of despotic power over liberty and life, which sets forth (Vol. I., page 264 *et seq.*) that he found "treason" everywhere—in "Senate, House of Representatives, * * * the Cabinet, the foreign Ministers, * * * land and naval forces, * * * revenue, * * * post office, * * * territorial governments and Indian reserves, judges, governors, legislators, * * * even in the most loyal regions; secret societies * * * with perverted sympathies * * * furnishing men and money to the insurgents, * * * fortifications, navy-yards, arsenals betrayed or abandoned to the insurgents, * * * voluntary enlistment ceasing," * * * &c.

In New York State, Governor Horatio Seymour had enormous backing in his open opposition, as partly shown above, to the war before it began, and in opposition to it and emancipation, so far as was possible, to the end. Schouler's *History of the United States* (page 417 *et seq.*) concedes that the State of New York was "obstructive to the President's wishes"—a mode of expression which is significant—and records that Seymour said in his Inaugural as Governor that "the conscription act was believed by one-half the people of the loyal States a violation of the supreme constitutional law." For his view of the *purpose* for which that act was procured, see Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln* (Vol. VI., page 22 *et seq.*), which alleges that both Governor Seymour and Archbishop Hughes, not only made friendly addresses to the mob that was forcibly stopping the draft in New York city, but manifested a measure of sympathy with its purpose; that Seymour in his address called the war "the ungodly conflict that is distracting the land," and said that the *purpose* of the draft was "to stuff ballot boxes with bogus soldier votes." Yet they concede that, in spite of all this, Seymour was (Vol. VI., pages 9 to 26) "then and to his death the most honored Democratic politician in the State." And this is shown beyond all question by the fact that, after the war was over he was selected by the National

Democratic party as its candidate for the Presidency. They attest also unstintingly Seymour's integrity and patriotism.

In the State of Ohio, Vallandigham's following in his resistance was so strong that he was banished by order of President Lincoln—a penalty not before known to the country, and “not for deeds done, but for words spoken,” to use the language in which it was denounced by John Sherman, and these were words that had been spoken in public debate and received with wild applause by thousands of his constituents.*

In Indiana Governor Morton got from Lincoln, through Stanton, aid by which he usurped every function of the government of the State, entirely overruling the will of the people; conclusive evidence of which makes up a large part of the first volume of Foulke's *Life of Governor Morton*, published as late as 1899; nor is it recorded in censure of Morton. Chapter XXII. is headed “I am the State,” and begins, “Morton accomplished what had never before been attempted in American history. For two years he carried on the government of a great State solely by his own personal energy, raising money without taxation on his own responsibility and distributing it through bureaus organized by himself.” French's *Life of Morton* says (page 423) that at the commencement of the year 1863 * * * the secret enemies of the government * * * had succeeded in the election of an Indiana Legislature, which “was principally composed of men sworn to oppose to the bitter end the prosecution of the war, with the purpose of encouraging the enemies of American liberty in their work of rebellion and destruction.” Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*† confirms the above account of Indiana, and says that, but for Governor Morton the Indiana Legislature would have recognized the Confederacy and “dissolved the federal relation with the United States.” They give‡ a full account of the “dis-

* *Sherman's Recollections* (Vol. I., p. 323), and Holland's *Lincoln* (p. 471 *et seq.*), who tells, too, of the bitter reprobation this provoked in New York. Nicolay and Hay tell (Vol. VII., p. 328) about the same story of Vallandigham and of the resentment (p. 341) in New York.

† (Vol. VIII., p. 8 *et seq.*)

‡ (Vol. VIII., p. 29 *et seq.*)

loyalty " in the North and the West, and say, too,* that " in the Western States the words Democrat and Copperhead became after January, 1863, practically synonymous, and a cognomen applied as a reproach was assumed with pride." Professor Channing, of Harvard, says:† " In the Mississippi Valley hundreds of thousands of men either sympathized with the slave-holders or cared nothing about the slavery dispute." George S. Boutwell says:‡ " With varying degrees of intensity the Democratic party of the North sympathized with the South, and arraigned Lincoln and the Republican party for all that the country was called to endure. During the entire period of the war New York, Ohio and Illinois were doubtful States, and Indiana was kept in line only by the active and desperate fidelity of Oliver P. Morton."§ Secretary Wells, of Lincoln's Cabinet, says (*Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XVI., page 266): " The Democrats were in sympathy with the rebels * * * and opposed to the war itself."

Probably few will question that the Border States disapproved the coercion of the South and emancipation, but see the following: Ropes says, " and though Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri remained in the Union,|| yet the feeling of a considerable part of the people in those States in favor of the new movement was so strong—aided as it was by the conviction that their States would have seceded but for the active interference of the United States Government—that the Southern cause received substantial aid from each of them." How " considerable a part of the people " it was may be inferred from the fact that a proclamation from the War Department was addressed to Marylanders to declare regret for having to keep so large a number of their fellow citizens in prisons, and that public policy did not admit of their being brought to trial or allowed to know the charges on which they were arrested;

* (Vol. IV., p. 234).

† Channing's *Short History of the United States* (p. 314).

‡ *Abraham Lincoln Tributes from his Associates* (p. 85 et seq.)

§ See letter of Morton to Stanton reporting a formidable effort of citizens and soldiers of Indiana 'to withdraw from the Union. Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. IV., p. 223).

|| Missouri seceded, October 31, 1861, and Kentucky seceded, November 20 1861.—*Note by Editor.*

and the lately published *Recollections* of Charles A. Dana record with complacency (page 236 *et seq.*) among his experiences as Assistant Secretary of War, the arrest in one day of ninety-seven of the leading people in Baltimore and their imprisonment in Washington, "mostly in solitary confinement."

Everywhere there were men who made more or less bitter protest or resistance against such subversion (by methods known only to the Sultan or the Czar), of what Americans had been taught to call the conditions of freedom—a free press, free speech, the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and Trial by Jury. In Cincinnati, in Chicago, in Boston and elsewhere, demonstrations toward violent resistance very alarming to the Administration at Washington were suppressed with the strong hand before coming to a head. Gilmore's *Personal Recollections of Lincoln* speaks (page 199) of "the wide Western Conspiracy so opportunely strangled in Chicago," and devotes a chapter to it. John A. Logan's *Great Conspiracy* (page 557) records "a gathering at Springfield, Illinois (Lincoln's home), June 13, 1863, of nearly one hundred thousand *Vallandigham, Anti-War, Peace, Democrats*, which utterly repudiated the war." See, also, page 559 *et seq.* For account of "avowed hostility to Lincoln" in Philadelphia, New York and Boston, and of opposition in New Jersey that "made the State disgraceful," see Allen's *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks*, Vol. I., page 448. Of Massachusetts, we learn the following from General B. F. Butler*—"Massachusetts had the disgrace of a draft, intensified by the disgrace of a draft-riot, which had to be put down by force of arms." General Rosecrans reported to Washington the existence in the Western States of secret orders of men bound by oath to co-operate with the Confederates to the number of four hundred thousand men. Nicolay and Hay say that three hundred and fifty thousand was an exaggerated estimate of their numbers.

When the storm was rising there came from the Democratic leaders in the "loyal" States as distinct asseverations of the wrongs the South was enduring, as full assurances that the

* *Butler's Book* (p. 306).

South had the right to withdraw from the partnership, as full denial of any possible right in the Federal Government to use coercion, as any Southern leader ever set forth; with further assurances that the Democrats of the North and the West would fight on the Southern side in any appeal to arms.

The extreme Abolitionists also bitterly opposed the war. Theodore Roosevelt's *Cromwell*, just from the press, says (page 103), that at the close of the war "the Garrison * * * or disunion Abolitionists * * * had seen their cause triumph, not through, but in spite of their efforts." And Gorham's *Life of Stanton* (page 163 *et seq.*) says: "The Republicans * * * were divided into two classes, one which desired separation, etc., * * *" and (Vol. I., page 193) tells of "a new element, headed by prominent Republican leaders like Greeley and Chase, who thought that a union of non-slave-holding States would be preferable to any attempt to maintain by force the Union with the slave-holding States." Observe how exactly these conclusions agreed with the conclusions to which the Southern leaders had come.

A letter of Chase quoted in his *Life* by Warden (page 363 *et seq.*) says: "It is precisely because they anticipate abolition as the result that the Garrison Abolitionists desire disunion." Schouler says of Garrison, Phillips and their immediate followers: "They were the avowed disunionists on the Northern side." * * *

In spite of the support of the war forced on the Democracy, as above described, they made a steady struggle in the courts, in Congress, and in the State governments to keep down the war to constitutional limits as far as possible, and to such conditions as might leave room for reconciliation in the future. Vallandigham's and Seymour's conduct furnish examples, and General McClellan's is another example. For years no pains were spared to cry down General McClellan in vindication of Lincoln's dealings with him, but evidence of the truth has been too strong. Even Nicolay and Hay have to concede to McClellan the very highest praise for pure patriotism, and the concessions have grown greater with each succeeding historian till Rhodes, one of the ablest, deplors

* Schouler's History of the United States (Vol. VI., p. 225).

the fact that Lincoln could not see McClellan as we see him, and that Lincoln deferred the capture of Richmond and the downfall of the Confederacy for two years by removing McClellan from command of the army.* Ropes passes hardly less severe censure on Lincoln for his dealings with McClellan,† and Rhodes and Ropes are very hostile critics of McClellan. See John Fiske's *Mississippi Valley in the Civil War* (page 148 *et seq.*), and his quotation of censure of Lincoln to the same effect from the Count of Paris. See Ida Tarbell in *McClure's Magazine* for May, 1899, pages 192 to 199 *et seq.*

In this connection there are some unconscious betrayals of the real estimate of Lincoln that was entertained by a number of his most ardent eulogists. Six of his eulogists have thought it worth while, if not necessary, to declare very expressly their belief that Lincoln did not purposely betray General McClellan and his army in the Seven-Days' battles before Richmond.‡ McClellan, in his celebrated dispatch after his retreat reproached Stanton with this atrocious crime, and so worded the dispatch that he imputed the same guilt to Lincoln. McClure's *Lincoln*, &c. (page 102) and Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln* (pages 441, 442 and 451) deplore that McClellan should have believed Lincoln capable of it, both conceding to McClellan the most exalted character, ability and patriotism.

Of Lincoln's dealing with McClellan, McClure says: "Many charged, as did McClellan, that he had been, with his army, deliberately betrayed by the Secretary of War, if not by Lincoln." §

When Lincoln refused to hear at all, or see, the Southern commissioners—Clement Clay and James P. Holcombe—unless they could show "written authority from Jefferson Davis" to

* Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. IV., p. 109, and p. 106 *et seq.*, and p. 117).

† Ropes' *Story of the Civil War* (Pt. II., p. 132 *et seq.*, p. 442 *et seq.*, and p. 473 *et seq.*)

‡ McClure's *Lincoln* (p. 207); Holland's *Lincoln* (p. 53 *et seq.*); Ropes' *Story of the Civil War* (Pt. II., pp. 116, 171, and in another place, Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. IV., p. 550 *et seq.*); Hon. George S. Boutwell, in *Tributes from his Associates* (p. 69); Schouler's *History of the United States* (p. 193 *et seq.*)

§ McClure's *Lincoln*, etc. (pp. 208, 248), and Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln* (Vol. VI., p. 189 *et seq.*)

make unconditional surrender, Greeley, who had procured their coming to negotiate a cessation of the war, protested against Lincoln's action as follows in a letter written him in July, 1864:* "Our bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country longs for peace, shudders at the prospect of fresh conscriptions, of further wholesale devastations, and new rivers of human blood; and there is a widespread conviction that the Government and its supporters are not anxious for peace and do not improve proffered opportunities to achieve it."

Greeley further intimates (page 482) the possibility of a Northern insurrection. Charles A. Dana, Lincoln's Secretary of War, says in his *Recollections of the Civil War*, that in April, 1862, Greeley "was for peace." Nicolay and Hay (Vol. IX., pages 184 to 200) describe the transaction above as "Horace Greeley's Peace Mission." The *Life of Hamlin* (page 437) says Greeley called the above letter "the prayer of twenty millions of people."

General U. S. Grant, in trying to show that he had not the enormous advantage that he is usually said to have had in the far greater number of people from whom he drew his army, makes serious concessions as to the indifference of the people at large in the "loyal" States to the cause he fought for, and the bitter hostility to it of a vast number of them. He says of the Southern army, in his *Memoir* (Vol. II., page 500 *et seq*): "No rear had to be protected. All the troops in the service could be brought to the front to contest every inch of the ground threatened with invasion. The press of the South, like the people who remained at home, was loyal to the Southern cause." Again (page 502): "In the North the press was free to the point of open treason, * * * troops were necessary in the Northern States to prevent prisoners from the Southern army being released by outside force, armed and set at large * * * The copperhead * * * press magnified rebel successes and belittled those of the Northern army. It was, with a large following, an auxiliary to the Confederate army. The North would have been much stronger with a hundred thousand of these men in the Confederate ranks and

* Holland's *Lincoln* (p. 478).

the rest of their kind thoroughly* subdued * * * It would have been an offence, directly after the war, and perhaps it would be now (Grant's *Memoir* is dated 1886) to ask any able-bodied man in the South who was between the ages of fourteen and sixty at any time during the war whether he had been in the Confederate army. He would assert that he was, or account for his absence from the ranks." See, too, page 35.

Attitude of Union Soldiers Toward Coercion and Emancipation.

On this we get a strange enlightenment in the account given by Russell in his *Diary* (page 155 *et seq.*) of his meeting the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment going home from the Bull Run battlefield to the sound of the cannon that opened the battle. A note on page 553 of Greeley's *American Conflict* describes the same from General McDowell's official report of the battle of Bull Run—how on the eve of the battle the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment of Volunteers and the battery of artillery of the Eighth New York Militia, whose term of service had expired, insisted on their discharge, though the General and the Secretary of War, both on the spot, tried hard to make them stay five more days * * * and the next morning, when the army moved into battle, these troops moved to the rear to the sound of the enemy's guns. Greeley goes on to say: "It should here be added that a member of the New York Battery aforesaid who was most earnest and active in opposing General McDowell's request and insisting on an immediate discharge, was at the next election, in full view of all the facts, chosen sheriff of the city of New York—probably the most lucrative office filled by popular election in

*In the debate in the House of the 20th February, 1901, when Mr. Lentz of Ohio, said that if soldiers in the Philippines are ordered to kill prisoners, they are justified in deserting, Mr. Cannon, of Illinois, said that in his lifetime he had heard more eloquent men than the gentleman from Ohio encourage desertion. "When the life of the nation was at stake," said he. "men all over the North stood behind the firing line and encouraged desertion. * * * * During the Civil War I thought if 8,000 or 10,000 of the copperheads had been shot we would not have been troubled with desertion."—*Baltimore Sun* of 21st February, 1901.

the country." Russell gives the reason why General Patterson did not bring his army from the upper Potomac to help General McDowell at Bull Run, that* "out of twenty-three regiments composing his force, nineteen refused to stay an hour after their time." Can any explanation be suggested but that these soldiers and their friends at home reprobated the task to which they were ordered?

McClure's *Lincoln* says (page 56): "When he (Lincoln) turned to the military arm of the government, he was appalled by the treachery of the men to whom the nation should look for its preservation." Scarcely any were so devoted to the flag; none knew so well the seriousness of the step as the officers of the regular army, but, notwithstanding, three hundred and thirteen (nearly one-third) resigned. General Keifer says that about March, 1861, "disloyalty among prominent army officers was for a while the rule." General Scott, commander of the army, recommended "that the erring sisters be allowed to depart in peace." Much pity has been spent on Major Anderson, cut off from supplies and bombarded in Fort Sumter, but one of Lincoln's eulogists has to rejoice now that he was spared the pain of reading the reproaches contained in a letter written him by Major Anderson, censuring him for proposing to use force. The letter miscarried. We have other letters of Major Anderson's, showing that he, like Scott and Seward, and the rest, thought coercion out of the question.

Nicolay and Hay say the Union army showed the strongest sympathy with its always immensely popular general, McClellan, in his bold protests against emancipation, and that there was actual danger of revolt in the army against the emancipation proclamation when General Burnside turned over the command of his army of one hundred and twenty thousand men to General Hooker in Virginia.† In Warden's *Life of Chase* (page 485 *et seq.*) a letter of September, 1862, from Chase to John Sherman, says: "I hear from all sources that nearly all the officers in Buel's army, and that Buel himself, are pro-slavery in the last degree."

* My Diary, North and South (p. 179). Channing's *Short History of the United States* (p. 308 *et seq.*)

† Keifer's *Slavery and Four Years of War* (p. 171); Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln* (Vol. I., p. 185).

Grant, in his *Memoir* (Vol. II., page 323), says that during August, 1864, "right in the midst of these embarrassments, Halleck informed me that there was an organized scheme on foot to resist the draft, and suggested that it might become necessary to withdraw troops from the field to put it down." Nicolay and Hay (Vol. VI., page 3) tell of violent resistance to the draft in Pennsylvania.

How did the North and the West Receive the Proclamation of Emancipation?

Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln* (Vol. II., page 261) records great losses in the elections in consequence of the proclamation, as do Schouler and Holland (page 457). *Butler's Book* (page 536) quotes Seward's reports in letters to his wife, that "the results were deplorable," and that "the returns were ominous"; that in all but strong Republican States "the opposition was triumphant and the administration party defeated." Ida Tarbell, in *McClure's Magazine* for January, 1899 (page 165), says: "Many and many a man deserted in the winter of 1862-1863 because of the emancipation proclamation. He did not believe the President had the right to issue it, and he refused to fight. Lincoln knew, too, that the Copperhead agitation had reached the army, and that hundreds of them were being urged by parents and friends hostile to the administration to desert." Page 162 shows that Lincoln himself "comprehended the failure to respond to the emancipation or to support the war"; that (page 163) "New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin reversed their vote, and the House showed great Democratic gains." McClure's *Lincoln, &c.* (page 112 *et seq.*) says: "There was no period from January, 1864, until the 3d of September, when McClellan would not have defeated Lincoln for President."

Charles A. Dana, in his *Recollections of the Civil War* (page 180 *et seq.*) says: "The people of the North might themselves have become half rebels if this proclamation had been issued too soon," and that "two years before, perhaps, the consequences of it might have been our entire defeat." How persistent the opposition continued to be may be judged con-

clusively by the fact that Lincoln's emancipation proclamation failed, as late as June, 1864, to get the two-thirds vote necessary to fix it in the Constitution, and had to go over to the next session, when the war was practically ended.

But the crowning proof of the attitude of a very large part of the people of the North and the West is the platform and the nominee adopted by the Democratic party for the presidential election of 1864, near the end of the war. It advocated the abandonment of the war,* and the nominee was McClellan, an avowed opponent of emancipation. Such was the issue adopted on which to appeal to the North and the West, and the framers of it were called by Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy† some of the most astute and experienced statesmen of their day. Nor was the appeal a failure, as has been so widely heralded. It is Ida Tarbell, Nicolay and Hay, Butler, Schouler, Holland, McClure, Lincoln himself, who have recorded that three months after his renomination they all despaired of his re-election.

The Method by which "Disloyalty" was Suppressed.

The testimony above submitted seems ample to show that a vast part of the North and the West was "disloyal" to the war and to emancipation. Let us next consider the methods by which this "disloyalty" was suppressed.

How fully Lincoln used every method of a military despot is best shown by an examination of a single chapter of a book just from the press—Bancroft's *Life of William H. Seward*. The following extracts from it need little comment. Lest any reader should suppose that the author of that book means to expose or arraign Lincoln or his agent Seward for the arbitrary arrests and imprisonments that he describes, be it understood that Bancroft does no more than mildly concede that Seward's zeal in a good cause betrayed him into undue severities in the "loyal" States. He says expressly (Vol. II., page 276): "For the general policy as practiced in the Border States, there is

* McClure's *Lincoln* (p. 126 *et seq.*)

† Welles' Paper, *The Opposition to Lincoln in 1864*, in the *The Atlantic Monthly* (Vol. XVI., dated 1878).

no * * * occasion to apologize * * * But there were some serious abuses of this arbitrary power in the far Northern States." Of Seward as Lincoln's Secretary of State he says (Vol. II., page 264): "Probably the detection of political offenders and the control of political prisoners were the most distracting of all his career." After the suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, "the Baltimore marshal of police, the police commissioners and other men of prominence were seized and sent to a United States fort. Several members of the Legislature that were expecting to push through an ordinance of secession the next day were arrested in September, 1861, and treated like other political prisoners."

Seward's system of arrest and confinement of the prisoners is described as follows (Vol. II., page 259): "Some of the features bore a striking resemblance to the most odious institutions of the ancient regime in France—the *Bastille* and the *Lettres de Cachet*."

"The person 'suspected' of disloyalty (Vol. II., page 261) was often seized at night, borne off to the nearest fort, deprived of his valuables, locked up in a casemate * * * generally crowded with men who had similar experiences * * * If he wished to send for friends or an attorney, he was informed that the rules forbade visitors, that attorneys were entirely excluded, and that the prisoner who sought their aid would greatly prejudice his case. An appeal to Seward was the only recourse—a second, third and fourth, all alike useless. The Secretary was calm in the belief that the man was a plotter and would do no harm while he remained in custody." It was found best (Vol. II., page 262) "to take prominent men far from their homes and sympathizers * * * The suspected men, notably Marylanders, were carried to Fort Warren or other remote places * * * In most cases from one to three months elapsed before definite action was taken by the department * * * If the arrest had been made without due cause, no oaths or conditions of release were required." * * * So, too, "if the alleged offence had been too highly colored by a revengeful enemy." See particulars of several cases (Vol. II., pages 264 to 276), and especially one in which ex-President Pierce, "who believed the South to be the aggrieved party,"

was aimed at. "Not one of the political prisoners (Vol. II., page 276) was brought to trial. As a rule, they were not even told why they were arrested. When the pressure for judicial procedure or for a candid discussion of the case became too strong to be resisted on plausible grounds, the alleged offender was released."

Of the well known story that Seward boasted to Lord Lyons that with his little bell he could imprison any citizen in any State, and that no one but the President could release him, Bancroft says (Vol. II., page 280): "If he made this remark, it is of no special importance; it was a fact that he was almost as free from restraint as a dictator or a sultan."

Holland's *Lincoln* shows (page 476 *et seq.*) that when Lincoln killed, by "pocketing" it, a bill for the reconstruction of the Union which Congress had just passed, Ben Wade and Winter Davis, aided by Greeley, published in Greeley's *Tribune* of August 5th "a bitter manifesto." It charged that the President, by preventing this bill from becoming a law "holds the electoral vote of the rebel States at the discretion of his personal ambition," and that "a more studied outrage on the authority of the people has never been perpetrated." McClure's *Lincoln* gives the same account. See, too, Schouler's *History of the United States* (page 469).

Usher describes in *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (page 92 *et seq.*) how pretended Representatives from Virginia (besides those from West Virginia) and from Louisiana were seated in Congress. Schouler says that an address to the people by the opposition in Congress accused Lincoln of the creation already in August, 1864, of bogus* States. Gorham's *Stanton* (Vol. I.,

*The word "bogus" is borrowed from *Brownson's Review*, which said, in October, 1864, of the bill which Wade and Davis denounced Lincoln for "pocketing," as follows: "He suffered the Bill to fail, there is no doubt, because it deprived him of the power to create rotten boroughs or Bogus States, to secure his re-election." The *Review* reminds its readers of its own stout support of the war and of emancipation, and charges that Lincoln is true to neither but has had from the first no aim but to strengthen himself and secure his re-election. Morse describes in a very interesting way (Vol. II., p. 297) how Lincoln kept open the question whether the votes of his reconstructed States of Arkansas and Tennessee should be counted for him until "the very day of the count," when the result was beyond doubt, but concedes that West Virginia was counted, with no better right than they. Nicolay and Hay (Vol. IX., p. 436 *et seq.*) describe apologetically how Virginia was made to figure in Washington as two "loyal" States.

page 177) shows how indispensable such fictitious States were for the changes that were made in the Constitution, in the words, "no changes could be made without the assent of three-fourths of the States, and fifteen of the thirty-one States were slave States."

Nicolay's *Outbreak of the Rebellion* (page 475) says: "The evident desire of the people for peace was a subject of deep solicitude to the Administration." Morse (Vol. II., page 274) shows the general despair of electing Lincoln in a letter to Lincoln of Raymond, chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee, August 22, 1864, which says: "I hear but one report—the tide is setting against us," speaking himself for New York and quoting Cameron for Pennsylvania, Washburne for Illinois and Morton for Indiana, "and so for the rest."

Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln* (Vol. IX., page 249) says that * * * by August, 1864, Weed, Raymond, every one, including Lincoln, despaired of his re-election. McClure's *Our Presidents* says (page 183): "But in fact three months after his renomination in Baltimore his defeat by General McClellan was generally apprehended by his friends and frankly conceded by Lincoln himself." Several of his biographers give copies of a memorandum sealed up by Lincoln and committed to one of his Cabinet for safekeeping, in which is recorded his conviction that McClellan's election over him was certain, with a statement of his purposes how to act during the interval before McClellan would take the presidency. It is referred to by Welles in his papers in the *Atlantic Monthly* under the heading, "Opposition to Lincoln in 1864" (pages 266 and 366 *et seq.*) as "Lincoln's despondent note of August 23, 1864." McClure, too, refers to it in his *Our Presidents* (page 183 *et seq.*) See, also, Roosevelt's *Cromwell* (page 208).

Lincoln's Second Election and His Majority.

It was under the conditions above described that Lincoln's second election came on. The management of it was committed in large measure to the State Department, whose workings have been shown above, and to the War Department. The

canvass for the presidency by Democrats was difficult, for an order of the War Department had made criticism of the administration treason, triable by court-martial. Soldiers ruled at the polls. General B. F. Butler* gives full particulars of the large force with which he occupied New York city, and shows how completely he controlled its vote and its opposition to the war that had lately been demonstrated in its great anti-draft riot. McClure† shows how the army vote was found necessary and secured. Chauncey M. Depew‡ describes how the soldiers' vote was polled * * * "made out by [the soldier] himself, certified by the commanding officer of his company or regiment, and sent to some friend at his last voting place to be deposited on election day." Scores of thousands of soldiers were furloughed to go home to vote. § McClure describes how Lincoln was afraid to ask Grant to do him this service, but found Sheridan and other generals ready. Depew says that without the soldier vote so managed, Lincoln would have failed to get the electoral vote of New York. ||

Lincoln's re-election by an exceedingly large majority has been triumphantly alleged and is adduced as proof that what he had done and was doing had the approval of the North and the West. That the vote of the electoral college should be recorded for Lincoln was quite inevitable in view of what the witnesses quoted in this sketch have recorded of the political and military management of affairs, at election-time and long before, in the Border States, in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and New York; in great cities like Chicago, New York and Boston, and in the country at large, as far as Seward's "little bell" could reach. But with all the odds against McClellan that have been shown the actual number of votes gotten by McClellan was more than eighty-one per cent. of the actual number of votes gotten by Lincoln. The figures by which this percentage is

* *Butler's Book* (pp. 752 to 773), and Rhodes' *History of the United States* (Vol. IV., p. 330).

† *Our Presidents*, etc. (p. 195 *et seq.*).

‡ *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (p. 22 *et seq.*)

§ McClure's *Lincoln* (p. 186 *et seq.*), and Whitney's *On Circuit with Lincoln*, (p. 445).

|| *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (p. 430).

ascertained were furnished in answer to a late application to the Peabody Library of Baltimore.

Conclusions.

This sketch makes no formulation of the conclusions as to Lincoln's character and conduct that might seem to be deducible from the evidence, except so far as some of the testimony above given formulates them, but some further formulations by the same witnesses will now be submitted.

The Emancipation Proclamation has been described in song and story, on canvas and in marble, as a joyous and exultant announcement of freedom to the slaves. See how differently Ida Tarbell describes it and its author, and she is almost a worshipper of Lincoln. She says: "At last (page 525 *et seq.*) the Emancipation Proclamation was a fact, but there was little rejoicing in his heart, * * * no exultation; * * * indeed there was almost a groan in the words in which, the night after he had given it out, he addressed a party of serenaders " * * And she records that Lincoln himself said a few months later: "Hope and fear contended over the new policy in uncertain conflict." And she goes on: "As he had foreseen, dark days followed. There were mutinies in the army * * * the events of the fall brought him little encouragement. Indeed the promise of emancipation seemed to effect nothing but disappointment and uneasiness; stocks went down; troops fell off. In five great States—Indiana, Illinois, Ohio Pennsylvania and New York—the elections went against him."

Rhodes' *History of the United States* is one of the latest records in this matter. While he eulogizes Lincoln as ardently as any, he speaks (Vol. IV., page 234 *et seq.*) of "the enormity of the acts done under his authority," and says "he stands responsible for the casting into prison of citizens of the United States to be counted by thousands (page 230) on orders as arbitrary as the *Lettres de Cachet* of Louis XIV.," when the mode of procedure might have been, "as in Great Britain in her crisis (between 1793 and 1802), on legal warrants," and he pronounces (page 234) this extra-judicial procedure inexpedient, unnecessary and wrong. See, also, Schouler's *History*

of the United States (page 465). Rhodes' *History of the United States* gives unqualified commendation to the patriotic spirit and proper jealousy for his country's liberty that prompted Seymour's opposition to the President, and shows how very far it went. See pages 169 to 172 for proofs of Seymour's resentment toward Lincoln and for Rhodes' justification of it. Page 171 *et seq.* calls Lincoln a tyrant. Two letters of Governor Morton of Indiana (Vol. IV., page 223 *et seq.*) and much other testimony show that Indiana was kept from acknowledging the Southern Confederacy only by force from Washington, and that Illinois was at the same time in nearly the same attitude.

William A. Denning, president of Columbia University, says in his *Essays on the Civil War*, dated 1898 (page 39 *et seq.*), that President Lincoln's proclamation of September 24, 1862, was "a perfect plat for a military despotism," and that "the very demonstrative resistance of the people to the government only made the military arrests more frequent," * * * that (page 24 *et seq.*) "Mr. Lincoln asserted the existence of martial law * * * throughout the United States." He says "thousands were so dealt with * * * and that (page 46) "the records of the War Department contain the reports of hundreds of trials by military commissions with punishments varying from light fines to banishment and death." Lalor's *Encyclopedia* says the records of the Provost Marshal's office in Washington show thirty-eight thousand political prisoners, but Rhodes (Vol. IV., page 230 *et seq.*) says the number is exaggerated.

The ceremony of signing the proclamation is elaborately described by Holland,* and all his ardent admiration cannot hide the President's unseemly behavior. Schouler† records Secretary Stanton's "disgust," and Hapgood says Lincoln signed "with some half-jocose remarks."

Stanwood's *History of the Presidency* concedes (page 299 *et seq.*) Lincoln's usurpations (that he may defend and justify them), by showing the vast opposition to him in the Northern States, and from many men whom Stanwood acknowledges to have been "loyal" in purpose. Holland's *Lincoln* says (page

* See Holland's *Lincoln* (p. 329 *et seq.*, and 392 *et seq.*)

† Schouler's *History of the United States* (Vol. VI., p. 631); Hapgood's *Lincoln* (p. 291 *et seq.*)

291): "All these labors Lincoln was performing with the knowledge * * * that seven States were in open revolt, and that a majority throughout the Union had not the slightest sympathy with him." Rhodes, in his *History of the United States* (pages 407 to 423) records the force put by Lincoln on the unwilling people of the Northern States to go on with the war, and gives yet more abundant proof of their wish to stop it.

McClure's *Lincoln* (page 292 *et seq.*) says: "Nor was Greeley alone in these views. Not only the entire Democratic party, with few exceptions, but a very large proportion of the Republican party, including some of its ablest and most trusted leaders, believed that peaceable secession might reasonably result in early reconstruction."

Would Jefferson Davis, would Robert Lee have asked more than McClure here says the two great parties of the North and West agreed in believing ought to be done?

Godkin, of the *Nation*, said as follows in one of his recent editorials: "The first real breach in the Constitution was made by the invention of the *war power* to enable President Lincoln to abolish slavery. No one would now say that this was not at that time necessary, but it made it possible for any President practically to suspend the Constitution by getting up a war anywhere." * * *

Ida Tarbell, in describing the opposition to Lincoln, just after his nomination, in 1864, shows as follows the feeling of the people for him: * "The awful brutality of the war came upon the country as never before. There was a revulsion of feeling against the sacrifice going on such as had not been experienced since the war began. All the complaints that had been urged against Lincoln * * * broke out afresh; the draft was talked of as if it were the arbitrary freak of a tyrant. It was declared that Lincoln had violated constitutional rights, personal liberty, the liberty of the press, * * * that, in short, he had been guilty of all the abuses of a military dictatorship. Much bitter criticism was made of his treatment of peace overtures; it was declared that the Confederates were anxious to make peace and had taken the first steps, but that Lincoln was so blood thirsty that he was unwilling to use any

* Ida Tarbell, in *McClure's Magazine* for 1899 (p. 276 *et seq.*)

means but force, * * * the despair and indignation of the country in this dreadful time all centered upon Lincoln * * the Democrats argued that the war and all its woes were the result of his tyrannical and unconstitutional policy. The more violent intimated that he should be put out of the way."

In considering further what his eulogists have called the apotheosis of Lincoln, we have the following as to his place in men's minds before his death: He had been in Congress, and Morse comments on the small achievements that "saved him from being among the nobodies of the House." Adams' *Life of Charles Francis Adams* (page 181) says: "Seen in the light of subsequent events, it is assumed that Lincoln in 1865 was also the Lincoln of 1861. Historically speaking, there can be no greater error. The President, who has since become a species of legend, was in March, 1861, an absolutely unknown, and by no means promising, political quantity," * * * and Adams goes on, "none the less the fact remains that when he first entered upon his high functions, President Lincoln filled with dismay those brought in contact with him * * * The evidence is sufficient and conclusive, that, in this respect, he impressed others as he impressed Mr. Adams in their one characteristic interview." And as late as 1873, ex-Minister Adams' *Memorial Address to the Legislature of New York* on the occasion of Seward's death, described (page 48 *et seq.*) Lincoln as displaying when he entered on his duties as President, "moral, intellectual and executive incompetency."

The Honorable L. E. Crittenden records, in order to express his regret for it, the fact that* "the men whose acquaintance with Lincoln was intimate enough to form any just estimate of his character * * * did not more fully appreciate his statesmanship and other great qualities * * * that they

* But it was late in his public career that McClure's *Lincoln* (p. 123) says, "Lincoln's desire for a renomination was the one thing uppermost in his mind during the third year of his administration," and McClure's *Our Presidents* (p. 184), says, "A more anxious candidate I have never seen" and, after an interview, "I could hardly treat with respect his anxiety about his renomination. Rhodes' (Vol. III., p. 368, in a note) records that R. Fuller, a prominent Baptist preacher, wrote Chase, "I marked the President closely. * * * He is wholly inaccessible to Christian appeals, and his egotism will ever prevent his comprehending what patriotism means."

did not recognize him as the greatest patriot, statesman and writer of his time." Rhodes concedes (Vol. IV., page 520 *et seq.*) that "his contemporaries failed to perceive his greatness." General Donn Piatt presents very effectively his view of how the change of the American world's feeling toward Lincoln, and of its estimate of him, came about. In *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (page 21) he says: "Lincoln was believed by contemporaries secondary in point of talent" and "Lincoln as one of Fame's immortals does not appear in the Lincoln of 1861, whom men * * * likened to 'the original gorilla.'" He says* in his Biography of General Thomas (preface, page 16): "Fictitious heroes have been embalmed in lies, and monuments are being reared to the memories of men whose real histories, when they come to be known, will make this bronze and marble the monuments of our ignorance and folly." And in *Reminiscences of Lincoln* he says (page 477): "With us, when a leader dies, all good men go to lying about him, and, from the monument that covers his remains to the last echo of the rural press, in speeches, sermons, eulogies and reminiscences, we have naught but pious lies." * * * "Poor Garfield * * * was almost driven to suicide by abuse while he lived. He fell by the hand of an assassin, and passed in an instant to the role of popular saints. * * Popular beliefs, in time, come to be superstitions and create gods and devils. Thus Washington is deified into an impossible man and Aaron Burr has passed into a like impossible monster. Through this same process, Abraham Lincoln, one of our truly great, has almost gone from human knowledge (the *Reminiscences* are dated 1886). I hear of him and read of him in eulogies and biographies, and fail to recognize the man I encountered for the first time in the canvass that called him from private life to be President of the United States." Piatt then goes on to describe a conference that he and General Schenck had with Lincoln in his home in Springfield.† "I soon discovered that this strange and strangely-gifted man, while not at all cynical,

* *Quotes from his Associates* (p. 147). Schouler's *History of the United States*, uses without quotation marks the precise words of Piatt above quoted (Vol. VI., p. 21).

† *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (p. 480).

was a sceptic; his view of human nature was low * * * he unconsciously accepted for himself and his party the same low line that he awarded the South. Expressing no sympathy for the slave, he laughed at the Abolitionists* as a disturbing element easily controlled, without showing any dislike to the slave-holders. We were not (page 481) at a loss to get at the fact and the reason for it, in the man before us. Descended from the poor-whites of a slave State, through many generations, he inherited the contempt, if not the hatred, held by that class for the negroes. A self-made man, * * * his strong nature was built on what he inherited, and he could no more feel a sympathy for that wretched race than he could for the horse he worked or the hog he killed.† In this he exhibited the marked trait that governed his public life. * * * He knew and saw clearly that the people of the free States not only had no sympathy with the abolition of slavery, but held fanatics, as Abolitionists were called, in utter abhorrence."

Then Piatt candidly repudiates the false pretensions that are so often made to lofty, benevolent purpose in those who "conquered the rebellion," and ends as follows: "We are quick to forget the facts and slow to recognize the truths that knock from [under] us our pretentious claims to high philanthropy. As I have said, abolitionism was not only unpopular when the war broke out, but it was detested. * * * I remember when the Hutchinsons were driven from the camps of the Potomac Army by the soldiers, for singing their Abolition songs, and I remember well that for nearly two years of our service as soldiers we were engaged in returning slaves to their masters when the poor creatures sought shelter in our lines."

* Mrs. Lincoln, who was present, said, "The country will find how we regard that abolition sneak, Seward." Rhodes' *History of the United States* says (Vol. II., p. 325), "Lincoln was not, however, in any sense of the word, an abolitionist."

† Herndon's *Lincoln* (Vol. V., p. 74 *et seq.*), tells a story of Lincoln's barbarous cruelty to a number of hogs that he was driving. Hapgood's *Lincoln* (p. 25 *et seq.*) gives the story, without defense or apology, naming the men who helped him, and specifying that Lincoln devised it and aided in it with his own hands.

What this Sketch Would Teach.

In view of what this sketch presents, those who have learned to rate Lincoln highest can hardly refuse to modify their estimate of him, and it was with the purpose to effect such a change in men's minds, in the interest of truth, that the task was undertaken. But the search in Northern records has taught the writer another truth, and a more important one, that he was far from seeking. To gain the ear of people of Northern prejudices by presenting no testimony but that of Northern witnesses was the plan adopted in seeking materials for this sketch. To win more patient hearing from people of Southern prejudices, it had been contemplated to put on the title page as motto *Fas est ab hoste doceri*. But the search showed that the North and the West were never enemies of the South; that those who disapproved, deplored, bitterly censured secession, for the most part disapproved yet more coercion of sister States and emancipation of the negroes, while a vast part thought the South was asking what she had a right to ask.

So it is to forgetfulness of the sad quarrel—to love, not to resentment or hate—that the lessons of this sketch would lead its readers. Those who taught that there was “an irrepressible conflict” between North and South were but a handful of fanatics—the same who denounced the Constitution of the United States as a “covenant with hell.” Is it not shown above that it would have been nearer the truth to say that the North and the South were essentially of one accord on the two questions, whether a State might, at least as a revolutionary right, withdraw from the Union, and whether the negroes should be emancipated?

Is it not an immense gain to know that the facts were as set forth above, rather than go on believing the story that has spread so widely—that one side carried fire and sword into the homes of the other as a punishment they believed the sufferer well deserved? Can those who suffered the great wrong really forgive and forget while events are so recorded in history?

APPENDIX.

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, was Minister to England during Lincoln's whole administration. He was of the family that had given two Presidents to the United States, and his father and his grandfather had been Ministers to England before him.

ANDREWS, E. BENJAMIN, once President of Brown University, is still prominent in educational work. He shows in his *History of the United States* (Vol. II., pages 64, 77, 81 *et seq.*) that he is an ardent Abolitionist and an admirer of Lincoln.

BUTLER, GENERAL B. F., was made by Lincoln Major-General and one of General Grant's corps commanders, and was Lincoln's first choice for Vice-President.

BEECHER, REV. HENRY WARD, was a strong Republican and Abolitionist, and a very prominent supporter of the war.

BOUTWELL, GEORGE S., was in Congress from Massachusetts, aided in organizing the Republican party in 1854, and in procuring Lincoln's election, and was made by Lincoln the first Commissioner of the Internal Revenue. (See name of Rice.)

BROOKS, PHILLIPS, Bishop of Massachusetts. For evidence of his partisanship see a prayer he made in the streets of Philadelphia on the downfall of the Confederacy. In the large page and a half there is not a reference to the miseries of the defeated nor an aspiration for the amendment of their condition, physical or spiritual. See his *Life and Letters*, by Allen, Vol. I., page 531.

CHANDLER, ZACHARIAH, SENATOR, was one of the organizers of the Republican party in 1854.

CHANNING, EDWARD, Professor of History in Harvard, shows in his *Short History of the United States* (page 352) an ardent admiration of Lincoln.

- CHASE, SALMON P., was Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury till made by him Chief Justice.
- CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM, lately editor of *Harper's Weekly*, was a widely known scholar and author. The quotations show how he stood towards the war and Abolition.
- CRITTENDEN, L. E., was Register of the Treasury. The words quoted show his attitude toward Lincoln.
- DANA, CHARLES A., was long managing editor of the New York *Tribune*, took an important part in procuring Lincoln's election, and was his Assistant Secretary of War.
- DANA, RICHARD H., was a distinguished author and law-writer, was nominated by President Grant for Minister to England, and was a representative of the best culture of Massachusetts.
- DAVIS, HENRY WINTER, was, though a Marylander, an ardent supporter in Congress of the war and of emancipation.
- DAVIS, DAVID, is named by McClure in his *Lincoln* with Leonard Swett, Ward H. Lamon and William H. Herndon as one of the four men "closest to Lincoln before and after his election." He was made by Lincoln one of the Supreme Court Justices, and finally executor of his estate.
- DAWES, HENRY L., represented Massachusetts in the House for nine sessions, beginning in 1857; succeeded Sumner in the Senate, and continued there till he declined reelection in 1893.
- DOUGLAS, FREDERICK, was one of the most honored and respected colored men during his long life, with everything to prejudice him in favor of Lincoln.
- DENNING, WILLIAM ARCHIBALD, in his *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*, pictures with merciless exultation (pages 247 to 252) the years of humiliation and torture imposed on the South during the "reconstruction."
- DUNNING, E. O., was chaplain in the Union army. His words quoted show his attitude.
- EVERETT, EDWARD, had been Minister to England, and was such another man as Richard H. Dana, ranking even higher.
- FOULKE, WILLIAM DUDLEY, shows in his words quoted his partisan attitude.

FREMONT, J. C., ran against Buchanan as candidate for the Presidency. As Major-General he proclaimed freedom to the negroes in his command.

FRENCH, WILLIAM M., shows in his words quoted his partisan attitude.

FISKE, JOHN, was lately shown by a publication of Dr. Hunter McGuire to be a prejudiced partisan of North against South.

GILMORE, JAMES R. Appleton's Encyclopedia says that a mission to Jefferson Davis made by Gilmore had the effect of assuring the re-election of Lincoln.

GODKIN, E. L., was long and till lately the able and useful editor of the *Nation*, but is utterly intolerant as to all that concerns secession and slavery.

GORHAM, G. C., author of a late life of Stanton, which shows his partisan attitude.

GRANT, U. S., General and President, is obviously the most trustworthy of all witnesses in the matters about which he is quoted.

GREELEY, HORACE. McClure, in his *Our Presidents and How We Make Them* (page 243) calls Greeley "one of noblest, purest and ablest of the great men of the land," and says in his *Lincoln* (page 225 *et seq.*): "Greeley was in closer touch with the active, loyal sense of the people than even the President (Lincoln) himself," and that "Mr. Greeley's *Tribune* was the most widely read Republican journal in the country, and it was unquestionably the most potent in modelling Republican sentiment. It reached the intelligent masses of the people in every State in the Union." Gilmore's *Recollections of Lincoln* has a letter from Lincoln to Robert J. Walker, which says of Horace Greeley: "He is a great power; having him firmly behind me will be as helpful to me as an army of an hundred thousand men." Channing's *Short History of the United States* calls Greeley "one of the ablest men of the time."

HAMLIN, HANNIBAL, was Lincoln's Vice-President.

HAPGOOD, NORMAN. His *Abraham Lincoln* is the latest biography, published in 1899. It shows the author's

attitude of admiration in the first page of the preface, declaring that he was "unequalled since Washington in service to the nation," and quoting the verses—

He was the North, the South, the East, the West;

The thrall, the master, all of us in one.

See under names of Herndon and of Lamon his endorsement of their "revelations."

HAY, JOHN, now Secretary of State, came from Springfield with Lincoln, and was his private secretary, as Nicolay was, to his death. Their joint work, *Abraham Lincoln*, in ten large volumes, makes the most favorable presentation of Lincoln of all that have been made.

HERNDON, WILLIAM H. His *Abraham Lincoln*, dated 1888, sets forth on the title page that Lincoln was for twenty years his friend and law partner, and says in the preface (page 10): "Mr. Lincoln was my warm, devoted friend; I always loved him, and I revere his name to-day." He quotes with approval and reaffirms Lamon's views as to the duty to tell the faults along with the virtues, and says in the preface (page 10): "At last the truth will come out, and no man need hope to evade it"; and he betrays his sense of the seriousness of the faults he has to record by calling them in the preface (page 9) "ghastly exposures," and by saying in the preface (page 8) that to conceal them would be as if the Bible had concealed the facts about Uriah in telling the story of King David; and the very latest biographer, Hapgood, writing with all the light yet given to the world, says in his preface (page 8): "Herndon has told the President's early life with a refreshing honesty and with more information than any one else." Morse, the next latest biographer, also commends Herndon's dealing in this matter. See, in this Appendix under Swett's name how Herndon's extraordinarily close relations with Mr. Lincoln are shown, and see under Lamon's name how Herndon's testimony and Lamon's have gone uncontradicted.

HOLLAND, J. G., was a popular author, and was long editor of *Scribner's Magazine*. For his ardent admiration of Lincoln, see the last page of his *Abraham Lincoln*.

HUNTER, DAVID, was made Major-General by Lincoln, and was one of the most ardent Abolitionists.

KASSON, JOHN ADAMS, was a conspicuous Republican in Congress, honored by Lincoln with important assignments at home and abroad in the Post-Office Department.

KEIFER, JOSEPH WARREN, was member of Congress from Ohio and Speaker of the House, and wrote *Slavery and Four Years of War*, which book shows his partisan attitude.

LAMON, WARD H.; published his *Life of Lincoln* in 1872. He appears in the accounts of Mr. Lincoln's life in the West as constantly associated in the most friendly relations with him. He accompanied the family in the journey to Washington, and was selected by Lincoln himself (see McClure's *Lincoln*, page 46) as the one protector to accompany and to guard him from the assassination that he apprehended so causelessly (see Lamon's *Lincoln*, page 513) in his midnight passage through Baltimore to his first inauguration. He was made a United States Marshal of the District in order (McClure's *Lincoln*, page 67) that Lincoln might have him always at hand. Schouler, in his *History of the United States* (page 614) says that Lamon as Marshal "made himself body-guard to the man he loved." Though Lamon recognizes and sets forth with great clearness (page 181) his duty to tell the whole truth, good and bad, and especially (page 486 *et seq.*) to correct the statements of indiscreet admirers who have tried to make Lincoln out a religious man, and, though he indignantly remonstrates against such stories as making his hero a hypocrite, the book shows an exceedingly high estimate of the friend of his lifetime. Both Morse and Hapgood commend Lamon and Herndon for their "revelations." The careful search in many records for the material for this sketch has not found a single attempt to deny the truth of Herndon's testimony, or of Lamon's. But the search did find a curious proof of the strait to which some one has been driven to conceal Lamon's testimony. In the Pratt Library in Baltimore, Maryland, is a book with a title as follows:

"*Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, 1847-1865, by Ward Hill Lamon, edited by Dorothy Lamon, Chicago, A. E. McClurg & Co., 1895." Nowhere in this book of several hundred pages is found an intimation of the fact that the same Ward Hill Lamon published in 1872 the *Life of Lincoln* quoted frequently in this sketch, or that he had published any book about Lincoln, and although these "*Recollections*" do contain the avowal that appears in the *Life of Lincoln*, that Lamon thinks it his duty to conceal none of the faults of his hero, every word is omitted of the "revelations" and "ghastly exposures" about Lincoln's attitude towards morals and religion that are recorded in Lamon's genuine book. Bancroft, in his very lately published *Life of Seward*, quotes (Vol. II., page 42) Lamon from this late book, making no reference to the genuine book, and a paper in the *Baltimore Sun* of February 25, 1901, does the same. See in this Appendix what is said under the name of Herndon and Swett.

LOGAN, JOHN A., Major-General. His book about the war, *The Great Conspiracy*, shows throughout, as in its title, his partisan attitude.

McCLURE, A. K. In his *Lincoln and Men of the War-Time*, and in his *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, the author's intimate association with Lincoln is shown in many places (*Lincoln*, page 112 *et seq.*), and his attitude towards his hero may be measured by the following tribute (page 5 *et seq.*): "He has written the most illustrious records of American history, and his name and fame must be immortal while liberty shall have worshippers in our land."

MORSE, JOHN T., published in 1892 by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., his *Lincoln*, one of the American Statesmen Series. It shows throughout, but notably in the last four pages, as ardent an admiration for Lincoln as any other biography. It concedes (Vol. I., page 192) the truth of the "revelations of Messrs. Herndon and Lamon" and the duty and necessity that rested on them to record these truths. Morse is next to the latest of the biographers.

NICOLAY, JOHN G. (like John Hay), came with Lincoln from Springfield, and was his private secretary to the end.

PARIS, THE COUNT OF, was a volunteer in the Union army.

See Volume IV., pages 2 to 7, for his partisan attitude.

PIATT, DONN, GENERAL, in *Reminiscences of Lincoln* (page 449), refers to Lincoln as "the greatest figure looming up in our history," and as one "who wrought out for us our manhood and our self respect." (See name of Rice.)

PHILLIPS, WENDELL. Appleton's Encyclopedia says he "began as Abolitionist leader in 1837 * * * made a funeral oration over John Brown * * * had the *Anti-Slavery Standard* for his organ."

POORE, BEN PERLEY, was a distinguished editor, but best known as Washington correspondent; was major in the Eighth Massachusetts Volunteers. His book, *The Conspiracy Trial for the Murder of Abraham Lincoln*, shows his partisan attitude. (See name of Rice.)

RICE, ALLEN THORNDIKE, was long editor of the *North American Review*, a leading Republican organ. As editor of *Reminiscences of Lincoln* he became responsible, more or less, for what is quoted in it from Piatt, Usher, Boutwell, Poore and Depew.

RHODES, JAMES FORD, is author of a six-volume *History of the United States* that (Vol. IV., page 50) eulogizes Lincoln ardently.

ROPES, JOHN CODMAN, author of the *Story of the Civil War*, which eulogizes Lincoln.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE, now Vice-President.

RUSSELL, WILLIAM HOWARD. His "My Diary, North and South," published in the *London Times*, shows a bitter aversion to slavery, and almost everything he saw in the South, and he shows plainly his judgment that it was the right and duty of Lincoln to crush secession. George William Curtis says in his "Orations" (Vol. I., page 139) about Russell, that "Europe sent her ablest correspondent to describe the signs of the times, and that Russell saw and gave a fair representation of the public sentiment." Adams' *Life of Adams* (page 151 *et seq.*) speaks of Russell's *Diary* as "the views and conclusions

of an unprejudiced observer through the medium of the most influential journal in the world."

SCHOULER, JAMES. His *History of the United States* (page 631 *et seq.*) shows that no biographer is more eulogistic of Lincoln.

SHERMAN, JOHN, President McKinley's first Secretary of State, was a very prominent Republican leader during the war, and served in the Union army with sword, tongue, pen and purse, raising largely at his own expense a brigade known as Sherman's Brigade.

SEWARD, WILLIAM H., was Secretary of State during Lincoln's whole administration, and accounted one of his ablest and most faithful supporters.

STEVENS, THADDEUS, entered Congress in 1858, and from that time until his death was one of the Republican leaders, and the chief advocate for emancipating and arming the negroes.

SUMNER, CHARLES, was long Senator from Massachusetts, and was a leader in support of the war and emancipation.

SWETT, LEONARD. See his very close relations to Lincoln, shown under the name of David Davis in this Appendix.

STANTON, EDWIN M., was often called Lincoln's "Great War Secretary." Appleton's *Encyclopedia* says: "None ever questioned his honesty, his patriotism or his capability."

STANWOOD, EDWARD. His *History of the Presidency* is a recognized authority, with no Southern leanings.

TARBELL, IDA, shows constantly in her histories the most ardent admiration for Lincoln.

TRUMBULL, LYMAN, declined to oppose Lincoln for the nomination in 1860, and was one of the first to propose in the Senate the abolition of slavery.

USHER, J. P., was in Lincoln's Cabinet as Secretary of the Interior.

WELLES, EDGAR THADDEUS, was Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy.

WINTHROP, ROBERT H., was eminent as a scholar and statesman, was ten years in the House, and then in the Senate from Massachusetts.

WHITNEY, HENRY CLAY, shows his exceedingly high estimate of Lincoln in the last page of his *On Circuit with Lincoln*.

WADE, BEN, was one of the most prominent Republican leaders.

WILSON, WOODROW, is a distinguished and popular professor in Princeton. For his admiring attitude towards Lincoln see pages 216 and 217 of his *Disunion and Reunion*.

LINCOLN.

By President Tyler, William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va., Editor *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*.*

I have no disposition to criticise Mr. Lincoln harshly, but I think the Northern people make a great mistake in trying to make a moral and intellectual hero of him. In doing so they provoke criticism.

I propose to say a few words about Mr. Lincoln in his aspect as a ruler. Lincoln began the war in 1861 under circumstances that seem to put his character for honor in question. To Governor Morehead, of Kentucky, he expressed his intention of withdrawing the troops from Fort Sumter (Coleman's *Life of Crittenden*). Seward, the Secretary of State, invited Judge Campbell to a conference, and with full knowledge that he (Campbell) would communicate the intelligence to the Confederate commissioners, told him the same thing. There were three of these conversations in March, 1861, between Campbell and Seward, and at each Seward was fully apprised by Campbell of his assurances to the Confederate commissioners. On the 1st of April Campbell received from Seward the statement in writing: "I am satisfied the government will not undertake to supply Fort Sumter without giving notice to Governor Pickens." There was a departure here from the pledge of the previous month, but as Seward accompanied the statement with the words that "he did not believe any such attempt would be made, and that there was no design to reinforce Fort Sumter," Judge Campbell did not complain. On the 7th of April Judge Campbell addressed a letter to Seward on the subject of the rumors of the warlike preparations of the government, and asked him if the assurances he had given

* Reproduced, in part, from *Richmond Dispatch*, February 11, 1900.

were "well or ill-founded." In respect to Sumter Seward's reply was: "Faith as to Sumter fully kept—wait and see."

On the next evening notice was given to Governor Pickens of the intention to supply Fort Sumter, "peaceably, if permitted; otherwise, by force"; and on the following day a powerful squadron, with men and arms on board, sailed from New York to South Carolina. Lincoln's message to the Federal Congress in July, 1861, referring to this subject, affords curious reading. He admits that, in a military point of view, the duty of the government had been reduced to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort; and yet, from political consideration, it was deemed necessary to hold the fort. Therefore, Mr. Lincoln in his message minimizes the purposes of the government, and makes the military armament a mere errand of relief—"to give bread to a few brave and hungry men"—merely to enable the government to retain visible possession of the fort.

Who Began the War?

Now, if this was all that was intended, why were not the supplies sent by an unarmed vessel, incapable of making an attack? In such a case, the peaceful character of the expedition could not have been mistaken. Firing upon an unarmed vessel might have been retorted by Major Anderson in Fort Sumter, and the responsibility of the first shot might have been, with greater show of reason, laid upon the Confederate Government; but an armed expedition was prepared to accompany the supplies, and the facts justify the belief that it was for the object of forcing the Confederates to fire. Mr. Lincoln knew that the Confederate Government did not want to fire on Fort Sumter, and he took deliberate measures to leave no other alternative open to them; and yet he talks in his message as if it were a mere matter of giving "bread to a few brave and hungry men." Notice was given, it is true, that the only intention of the expedition was to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, but in the same breath the Confederates were informed that arms and men might be landed after further notice.

It is idle for Northern writers to say that the Lincoln gov-

ernment did not begin the war, for, as the great constitutional writer, Hallam, has well said: "The aggressor in a war—that is, he who begins it—is not the first who uses force, but the first who renders force necessary." "As was intended," says Lincoln in the same message, "notice was given." Now, why this intention, unless Lincoln had been fully informed by Seward of his conversations with Judge Campbell? For all honorable purposes the notice might as well have not been given. The fleet was prepared before any notice was given, and the notice that Governor Pickens finally received was anticipated by the newspapers. Mr. John C. Ropes refers to these assurances of Mr. Seward as "semi-official" only. For one, I fail to see how an official can ever become 'a semi-official,' or how Mr. Lincoln, who retained Mr. Seward in office, after all the facts were known, can be considered in any other light than as his backer and indorser.

In fact, Lincoln's message, to which reference has been made, mirrors his character exactly. He was a man of undoubted mental power, but the workings of his mind, instead of proceeding upon broad planes of principle, wound in and out in narrow ways, and tortuous lines, and his conclusions have much the effect of the handiwork of a necromancer, which amuses, but never convinces.

His Subtleties.

The subtleties of expression to which he resorts in his attempt to justify, under the law, his unconstitutional acts, while carrying on the war against the South, cannot stand serious examination for a moment. When he asks, in his indirect way, whether the President is not justified in violating his oath in respect to one law, "if, in so doing, he keeps all the laws from going (unexecuted—by others), and prevents the government from going to pieces," he invites the answer that the President might on the same principle violate all the laws, if, by so doing, he can keep all the laws from going unexecuted (by others), and the government from going to pieces! When he says that "if one State may secede, so may another, and when all shall have seceded, none is left to pay the debts"

of the Union, the answer is that the States were as well able to agree upon an adjustment of debts out of the Union as in the Union. The (Confederate) commissioners made known to Seward their perfect willingness to assume their proper share of all pecuniary responsibilities to creditors. When he says that the word "sovereignty" does not occur in any of the State constitutions he quibbles on a word, for the constitutions of Vermont, New Hampshire and Massachusetts contain the words, "free and independent," and "free, independent, and sovereign," as descriptive of the political character of their people. When he says that the States never existed out of the Union, and were, therefore, not sovereign, the answer is that, if there is anything in this argument, he must first show that there is something in the nature of Union which is contradictory to separate State nationality. History records numerous instances of States leagued together for common purposes, and the international law writers have over and over asserted that sovereign States may unite and present one national front to the world, without any of them losing that character of sovereignty as defined by Lincoln—"a political community without a political superior."

Indeed, one is compelled to think that Lincoln was laughing in his sleeve at his own solemn absurdities, for the same message contains a flat-footed sentence which shows that the honest idea he had in his mind at the time was the suppression of the "rebellion" at any sacrifice. This sentence is as follows: "These measures" (calling out troops, blockading Southern ports, suspending the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, etc.), "whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under what appeared to be a popular demand and a public necessity, trusting, then as now, that Congress would readily ratify them."

Destruction of Private Property.

To be plain about it, a man must seek high and low to find anything that is ennobling or refining in Lincoln's administration. International law sets the finger of condemnation on the burning of towns, colleges, private houses, unnecessary destruction of private property, and the abuse and punishment

of non-combatants. And yet, the generals of Lincoln, without any rebuke from the President, perpetrated everywhere throughout the South the most flagrant violations of international law. Major George B. Davis, Judge-Advocate of the United States army, says, in his work on international law, that the policy of the United States "during the rebellion," in the matter of requisitions was "far from liberal." I should think so! Private property was taken everywhere without any form of compensation. All non-combatants over sixteen years of both sexes within the Federal lines were required either to take an oath of allegiance to the Federal Government or be sent outside the lines; perhaps, to starve or die in the woods. Lincoln published, under his own proclamation, an act of Congress, dated July 25, 1862, which denounced either death, or severe imprisonment, or confiscation, or a fine not exceeding \$10,000, on every person in both sections assisting in any way in "the existing rebellion." What would people at this time think of the Queen of Great Britain sanctioning such an anathema against the Boers, or of President McKinley against "the rebel Philipinos"? Much is said of Lincoln's "practical sagacity," but did he show it in the selection of Burnside, McDowell, Pope, and Hooker to lead his army in Virginia? Even his emancipation policy was only a war measure, the example of which had been set a hundred years before by the British Government. At that time "the wicked policy" of freeing the slaves and arming them against their masters had been condemned in the Declaration of Vermont and by the people of the country generally. And now, in 1863, that a servile war did not at once ensue, involving in indiscriminate butchery, men, women, and children in the South and the repetition of the scenes of horror which had once prevailed in Haiti, was not at all due to the humanity of Lincoln.*

* "Mr. Lincoln's virtual declaration of war and blockade was coupled with two acts which cast a glaring light on the often-vaunted humanity of the North, and the personal tenderness of nature and freedom from vindictive passion ascribed to the President. The latter ordered that Confederate commissions or letters of marque granted to private or public ships should be disregarded, and their crews treated as pirates. He also declared medicines of all kinds 'contraband of war.' Both acts violated every rule of civilized war, and outraged the conscience of Christendom." *History of the United States*, (by Percy Greg, Vol. II., p. 182—American Edition; Richmond, Virginia—West, Johnson & Co., 1892).—[*Note by the Editor*].

His Humanity.

Nor can the cold facts of history see any "humanity" in Lincoln's policy as to the prisoners taken on both sides. The story of these poor men was a sad one. For much of their suffering in Confederate prisons the refusal of the Lincoln government to permit the cartel of exchange is undoubtedly responsible. There was, moreover, absolutely no excuse for the government of the Union, in the midst of plenty, for starving and maltreating the unfortunate Confederates who fell into their hands. Governor Morehead, of Kentucky, is a witness to the fact that the horrors of Fort Warren, even in Boston harbor, were such that prisoners were driven mad.

In concluding, I wish to say that if Northern writers are determined to set up a standard of character and rectitude for the South, let them be wiser in their selection of their ideals. While there can be no doubt that the South has entirely eclipsed the North in the production of moral heroes (witness Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Calhoun, Davis, Jackson and Lee), yet there are many men in the history of the North noted for the singular purity and excellence of their lives, whose example we will be proud to point out to our children.

L. of C.

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